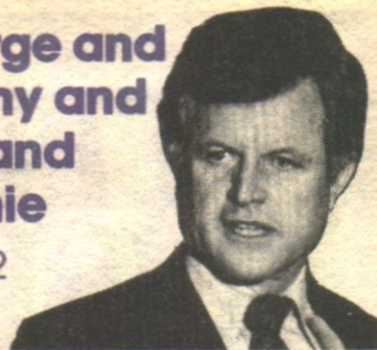


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THE INSIDE STORY

JOHN JUDIS



Jimmy Bush and Ronnie Kennedy hit campaign trail

The 1976 presidential election had two relatively novel features, which may be reappearing for the 1980 election.

The first was the "Carter phenomenon." A "political outsider" untainted by past party battles and not associated with any particular program or trend was able to project an ambiguous image that appealed to both left and right in the party out-of-power.

The second was the "Reagan-Ford intraparty challenge." Incumbents had been challenged for renomination within their own party, but never through six months of primaries and into the convention. The effect of the Reagan challenge was to leave the Republicans ill-equipped to defeat its November opposition.

The "Carter of 1980" is former CIA director George Bush, who already has come from nowhere to win Republican straw polls in Maine and Iowa. The "Reagan of 1980" is Sen. Edward Kennedy, whose primary battle with President Carter now looks as if it may resemble a war of attrition rather than a blitzkrieg.

A moderate-conservative.

The 55-year-old Bush comes from a patrician New England family—his father was a senator from Connecticut. He matriculated at Phillips Andover and Yale. In 1948, he migrated to Texas, where he set up the Zapata Petroleum Co. In 1966, Bush sold his multi-million dollar holdings in Zapata to run successfully for Congress. In 1970, he lost a bid for the Senate.

In 1971, Richard Nixon appointed Bush ambassador to the United Nations, a post he left in 1973 to become the Republican party chairman. In 1975, after a brief tour in China, he became Gerald Ford's appointee as head of the CIA.

Since his resignation from the CIA in 1977, Bush has been running for president. Following Jimmy Carter's example (Carter began his 1976 campaign in 1974), Bush spent 347 days on the campaign trail in 1978-79, including 18 days in Iowa. (By comparison, Ronald Reagan has spent only two days in Iowa.)

In appearance and seemingly also in character, Bush bears a strong resemblance to Dallas Cowboy football coach Tom Landry, who was recently immortalized in *North Dallas Forty*. As a transplanted Northerner, he is at once stern Puritan and Baptist barn-burner.

To potential followers of Howard Baker, Gerald Ford, or John Anderson, Bush paints himself as a Republican "moderate." In describing America's global position, the former Trilateral Commission mem-

ber eschews apocalyptic language. He favors the equal rights amendment and doesn't back the constitutional amendment to prohibit abortion. He says he could support a windfall profit tax on oil profits. In Iowa two weeks ago, he even said he supported increased federal aid for the railroads, which is an important issue for Midwestern farmers who must ship their produce on the bankrupt Milwaukee and Rock Island lines.

But Bush can also wear a Republican conservative hat. He favors a windfall profits tax only if the money is returned to the oil companies for investment. He is virulently against government regulation. He is opposed to SALT II. He says we never should have abandoned the Taiwanese or given in to the Panamanians. He thinks we need a three-ocean navy "so we can, where need be, project power." ("Project power" is a Pentagon euphemism for intervention and invasion.) He attacks Jimmy Carter for letting "human rights drive our strategic interests." He has no "second thoughts" about the CIA's support of the shah of Iran and his intelligence agency, SAVAK.

Bush is therefore an ideal Carter-type Republican candidate: a moderate-conservative, Northerner-Southerner. He combines Reagan and Richard Schweiker and Ford and Robert Dole in one person.

Bush's organization reflects his broad appeal. His political director, David Keene, is a former Reagan staffer and member of the Young Americans for Freedom; Jim Baker, his campaign manager, was a former Ford aide; deputy press secretary Susan Morrison used to work for John White's Democratic National Committee; his Southern campaign aide, Charles Snider, used to work for George Wallace; and Rich Bond, his Iowa campaign manager, is a former aide of (relatively liberal) New York city representative Bill Breen.

Bush's strategy—like Carter's in '76 and George McGovern's in '72—has been to concentrate on the Iowa and New Hampshire primaries. These events place a premium on hand-shaking and face-to-face contact and on the ability to get your supporters out. The Iowa caucuses, which will lead off the presidential election, take place in homes and schools and churches in 2531 precincts on Monday evening, Jan. 21. In '76, only 38,500 of 549,000 Democrats attended, and only 20,000 of 477,000 Republicans.

In a mid-August *Des Moines Register* poll among registered Republicans, Bush got one percent support to 48 percent for Reagan, 23 percent for Baker, and 11 percent for Connally. By mid-October, on the strength of his straw vote victories elsewhere and his campaign organization, a *Des Moines* television station gave Bush 11 percent, trailing Ford with 26 percent and Reagan with 18 percent. At an October state party fundraising event, Bush was first, with 35.7 percent of 1454 Republicans who attended.

Bush also has gotten the support of 25 of 85 state legislators and of Iowa's secretary of agriculture, a former Reagan backer. His showing has prevented potential Howard Baker supporters like Gov. Robert Ray from openly backing Baker.

Bush's announced purpose in Iowa had been to beat out Baker and become the Republican "moderate" candidate against both Reagan and Connally, but his strong showing has emboldened his supporters to project a two-man Bush-Reagan race for the presidency after the Iowa caucus and the New Hampshire primary.

Kennedy's charisma.

As of early September, Ted Kennedy had a two-to-one lead over Jimmy Carter among Democrats polled, but even then Kennedy supporters were hesitant to predict a Kennedy victory in the caucuses. With a premium placed upon organization, Carter has had an Iowa office since May, and according to campaign head

William Ronjue, will have four people in each precinct on Jan. 21. The Carter camp will also have the aid of the 30,000 member Iowa State Education Association, a branch of the National Education Association, many of whose members can be expected to brave snowstorms and strong winds on caucus night.

The official Kennedy campaign started late (around Thanksgiving) and has been plagued by dissension and mishap. An initial choice for campaign manager met with strong opposition from party professionals and members of the draft-Kennedy movement. While Kennedy has continued to draw huge crowds in his appearances—3500 in Des Moines, 3000 in Iowa City, 1500 in Dubuque—his campaign squandered some of these first appearances. In Iowa City, for instance, only 150 names of active supporters were collected.

Organizationally, the Kennedy campaign's greatest asset is its labor support. In 1976, the 40,000 member United Auto Workers (UAW) furnished about 4000 of the 10,000 caucus delegates for Carter; in 1980 UAW leader Chuck Gifford is predicting an even larger turnout for Kennedy. Even some local presidents of unions that have been neutral or pledged to Carter—like the president of the Des Moines local of the pro-Carter Communications Workers of America—have been actively working for Kennedy.

A late November visit by national campaign staffer Carl Wagner seems to have ended the dissension within the Kennedy organization. But it remains unclear whether Kennedy can make up Carter's organizational lead.

Kennedy also faces other obstacles. Carter's handling of the Iran crisis has increased his popularity both nationally and in Iowa. And Kennedy's attack against the shah met at best a mixed reception among Iowa Democrats. Several campaign workers in Des Moines, who have been calling potential Kennedy supporters since mid-November, acknowledged that the crisis has dramatically affected the responses they have been getting. In mid-November about 50 percent of their responses were pro-Kennedy, about 15 percent were uncommitted, and the rest were pro-Carter. (Des Moines is expected to be a Kennedy stronghold.) But they now report that about 50 percent of the people called say they are uncommitted. They don't want to oppose the president in a time of crisis. If the Iran crisis drags into January, Carter will certainly benefit.

Kennedy's campaign has also been hampered by his own inability to project a clear alternative to Carter. Just as Reagan did in the early stages of the 1976 campaign, Kennedy is hanging back. He is moderating his stands on defense spending. In Iowa City, he declared his support for a three percent real increase in the defense budget, and he is now openly backing the M-X missile. The brunt of his criticism of Carter's energy policy falls on what Carter should have done, not what he should do now. (Carter should not have given up oil price regulation, and if he had to, he should have tied it legislatively to support of a windfall profits tax.) Ditto Carter's inflation policy. When I asked Kennedy's co-campaign head in Iowa to explain the present difference between Carter and Kennedy on fighting inflation, he said, "You're asking me a ques-

Continued on page 18.

HAPPY HOLIDAYS

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IN THESE TIMES

Fiscal storm warnings in Chicago

By David Moherg

WHEN NEW YORK WAS sinking into its sea of debts and default a few years ago, there were some officials in Chicago who said it would never happen here. But the pattern the past couple of months has been all too familiar.

The Cook County public hospital had to be bailed out with a plan that nevertheless threatens its future. Public transportation workers almost struck over city transit authority efforts to take away their cost-of-living protection. Firefighters began giving strike warnings. Blacks and progressives protested when Mayor Jane Byrne's new city budget raised regressive taxes and cut out important services. And, most serious, the school district, as a result of years of concealed financial mismanagement, suddenly turned to the city (which has a budget separate from that of the school board) and to the state to bail it out when banks refused to buy any more bonds.

Although there is a long-term problem for the city and its various independent taxing and governmental bodies (such as the school board, parks district, sanitation district and city), the immediate problems have more to do with shady and shoddy administration and with short-term political calculations that backfired. Yet those same political calculations have also contributed to the general economic decline that threatens the city with more serious tribulations in the future.

Not yet New York.

At the moment, Chicago's woes can't be compared to New York's. The indebtedness per capita is far lower in Chicago. Taxes are also much lower; Chicago's property tax rate is below the median for large cities. Most Chicago public workers are well-paid by comparative standards, but it is difficult to argue—as cut-back partisans did in New York—that the city has been “too generous” in providing services. Per pupil expenditures by the school system are barely above the big city median (and reflect a bloated administration); the public library is appalling; the streets in many working class neighborhoods, especially black and Hispanic, are dirty and in poor repair; there is limited funding for higher education; and the public health facilities are extremely limited.

Like many cities, Chicago—and especially its schools—have relied increasingly on state and federal funding to cover rising costs. Property tax rates have been kept fairly constant throughout this decade, although new, non-property taxes have been instituted and raised. Overall property tax income has also grown very slowly, since the total assessed valuation dropped in the mid-'70s and only now may be increasing slightly.

Presumably the city could raise more money. Unlike New York it has no personal or corporate income tax. Illinois has a low, non-progressive income tax. It could raise its property tax rate. It could catch up in its re-assessment of property, since the assessed value—the basis for tax payments—has fallen from over 42 percent of the fair market value in 1970 to under 28 percent in 1977.

Politics of taxes.

But there are problems—political problems—with such moves. They don't stem simply from the much-publicized “tax revolt.” City and state legislators shy away from higher taxes, since businesses threaten to move out. But even with stable taxes, and many breaks for businesses in the city over the years, industry and commercial businesses have been leaving Chicago. More effective use of public money to improve the city might have kept them.



A crisis in school finances and a near strike by the transit workers' union signal trouble to come for Second City.

There is also the question of the impact of new property taxes on the city's housing stock. Tax delinquencies have been creeping up in recent years, and abandonment of buildings has long been a serious problem. Among eight big cities, only Cleveland suffered a greater net loss of its housing from 1960 to 1975 than Chicago. The city's taxing and assessing policies have often contributed to that process by penalizing marginal residential properties while giving generous advantages to big business property.

The loss of housing is directly connected to one of the major political foundations of the city's now-surfacing financial problems. The Daley administration and its successors have been committed above all to keeping white residents in the city. That has been translated into slighting the black community, giving advantages to white neighborhoods, and keeping property taxes low (although blacks are over-assessed). But the combined effect has been to lower drastically the quality of life in the city for both blacks and whites. Businesses as well as white residents have responded to the deterioration by leaving. Neglect of black areas, including the housing stock in traditional black neighborhoods (where there has been the greatest loss of buildings), has increased racial competition for housing and racial tensions, leading to further “white flight.”

Despite the efforts intended to placate businesses and whites, the strategy—which is still being pursued in city development plans—has largely failed. The economic base of the city has stagnated. Taxes have not generated enough revenue to maintain services and to meet the pay demands of public workers. The city political leaders have been willing to raise wages despite their skinflint attitude toward the rest of the public budget to forestall additional unionization and to maintain political control.

It is perhaps fitting that the first big fi-

nancial crisis—other than Cook County Hospital, long neglected in part because it serves mainly a poor and minority population—should hit the public schools. The schools have been a mainstay of the rearguard holding action of the recent Chicago governments. As the Department of Health, Education and Welfare demonstrated again this fall in pressing the city to desegregate its schools, the school board has consciously worsened the segregation in the educational system beyond what would be produced by a segregated housing market.

School superintendent Joseph Hannon consolidated his political support by agilely delaying action on school desegregation. The resultant shield from criticism, coupled with his own penchant for arrogant secrecy, permitted him over the years to camouflage a growing deficit. Hannon would annually overestimate state aid, borrow from funds set aside to repay bonds for current operating expenses, pre-empt funds from the following fiscal year, and cover maintenance costs with the building fund.

Like many other school districts, Chicago sold general obligation bonds to banks in order to get operating money until tax money or state and federal aid arrived.

Hannon was suddenly faced on Nov. 13 with a sharp downgrading of the district's credit rating by Moody's investor service. The next day nobody would buy the district's offering of \$124.6 million in notes, some of which was needed to pay off an earlier borrowing. Although an advance on state aid and some other timely influx of money made it possible to meet the payrolls and pay off the immediately due loan, Hannon was unable to get strong city backing and suddenly quit on Nov. 28, followed by resignations of the school board president and the district's top two financial officers.

A proposed bail-out plan would involve a short-term loan of around \$200 million from the state to the school board, with

the city guaranteeing repayment. The city would do that only if the banks agreed to find buyers for a long-term loan of \$500 million, which would permit reorganization of the school's finances. The banks are unlikely to agree unless they are certain that the state legislature will raise the school district's tax rate (and Byrne has recently offended some downstate Democrats). Since the city already had its credit rating lowered one notch this fall and has to sell \$110 million in bonds in January, it is concerned that its credit not be endangered by the schools. Already the rating on four bonds of the Public Building Commission, which rents many buildings to the school district, was lowered as a result of the mess. Likewise, Republican Gov. James Thompson is chary of risking the state's high rating to save the Democrats in Chicago.

If Chicago heeded the warning signals of this crisis, it would move as rapidly as possible toward overall economic development, including the neighborhood emphasis that Mayor Byrne promised but has not delivered, using public enterprises, community development corporations and other governmental levers. It would emphasize improving the quality of life in the city, which means much greater attention to the needs of black and Latino communities as well as increasing the effectiveness of the cynical, corrupt public agencies that are a legacy of decades of machine rule.

Daley used to say in pseudo-profundity that good politics means good government and good government means good politics. But Chicago suffers its current miasma because the reverse is also true, and bad politics have brought bad government. Unfortunately, for all her earlier rhetoric to the contrary, Byrne seems basically committed to the same old bad politics. If so, whatever the temporary solution of the school crisis, Chicago can look for more of the same trouble down the road.



IN SHORT

Autoworkers plan a new product line

The mammoth Goodyear sign in Detroit that ticks off the number of cars produced in the U.S. turns more slowly these days. Truck and car sales plummeted 27.4 percent in November, raising the permanent layoff total in the industry to 115,000. Meanwhile, Chrysler moved up the closing of its Hamtramck assembly plant by six months to Jan. 4. It is also phasing out the Outer Drive stamping plant.

The same problems plague workers on the other side of the Atlantic, and 500 people came on Dec. 3 to the meeting hall of United Auto Workers (UAW) Local 600, which represents 33,000 workers at the sprawling Ford Rouge complex to hear Mike Cooley, a senior design engineer and union activist at the Lucas Aerospace company in England, tell how Lucas workers are fighting for their right to socially useful work as an alternative to unemployment.

"It seems absurd to us that society has people unemployed and facilities sitting idle," Cooley told the crowd, "while there is urgently needed equipment and services which we are capable of providing."

Lucas workers have proposed a six-volume detailed "alternative corporate plan" that describes 150 products that could be manufactured in Lucas facilities with the current workforce, including a hybrid gas-electric power-pack for automobiles that reduces fuel consumption by 50 percent and pollution by 80 percent and an energy-efficient heat pump that could heat homes by acting as a "reverse refrigerator," taking heat from the outside.

"Why couldn't Chrysler plants be used to manufacture products that the society needs, such as the heat pump?" Cooley asked. "We believe that there is going to be massive structural unemployment and traditional trade union responses are not enough. Even the German unions, which have been most optimistic about the impact of new technology, fear that there will be 20 million people unemployed in Western Europe by 1990 unless strong action is taken," he said.

Detroit is in the mood for Cooley's proposals to combine socially useful production—such as the energy-saving devices—with humane, non-alienating design and use of technology as an alternative to its layoffs and shutdowns. Not only was Cooley warmly received by Local 600, a center for UAW activity on automation, but also the Detroit Common Council officially welcomed him at a meeting crowded with citizens who were quickly won over to his suggestions.

—Harley Shaiken

Baltimore rent lid nixed by court

Baltimore activists are seeking a reversal of a city circuit court ruling that shot down a rent control proposition that won voter approval last month (*In These Times*, Nov. 21).

Pro-rent control forces have taken the case to Maryland's top-ranking Court of Appeals, where it is expected to be heard by a seven judge panel in early February.

Bob Cheeks, chair of the People's campaign for Rent Control, said he's pessimistic about the final ruling on the proposition.

"The judges are going to be affected by the big money and the politics or they are going to be completely insensitive" to the issue, Cheeks said.

He said city legislators, who had largely opposed rent control before heavy voter turnout on the issue, began pro-



Several hundred Autoworkers picketed International Harvester's downtown Chicago headquarters last week to protest forced overtime and other grievances.

UAW strikes Int. Harvester over work rules

Workers at International Harvester, makers of farm and heavy construction equipment, are settling in for what may become a record-length strike in order to defend work rules and workers' shop-floor power that the company wants to take away.

The biggest issue is mandatory overtime. Harvester insists that its workers give up the provision, won in 1950, that all overtime is voluntary, since its major competitors can compel overtime work. The company admits that it rarely has trouble getting volunteers for overtime, but they want the control over workers' time—and that's precisely what the machine shop workers and assemblers refuse to surrender.

"There's no way I'm going to come in on Saturday night," one young worker, sitting in the union hall of United Auto Workers Local 6 in Stone Park, Ill., said. "If you got an anniversary dinner with your wife or a daughter's wedding, they want to put you under disciplinary action if you refuse," shop committee-man Art Pignataro complained.

But the hidden meaning of the conflict is even more important. Workers can now refuse overtime as a way of adding clout to their grievances or protesting a tyrannical foreman. Although the union agreed some years ago not to have a "concerted ban" on overtime, often every worker in a department just hap-

pens to have fishing plans for the same Saturday. "That was the most lethal weapon we had," Pignataro said of the old concerted ban, "better than the strike."

Local 6 president Robert Tinker is convinced that the company wanted to provoke a strike to "bust the UAW" and force concessions, such as requiring attendance the day before and after paid holidays, limiting the number of transfers, cutting back on health benefits, reducing vacation benefits for new employees and taking away the right of pieceworkers to go home when their regular work is done instead of being assigned to a new job.

Harvester appears willing to follow the modest economic pattern set at John Deere, where 31,000 workers struck for three weeks in October. The farm equipment industry has recently been quite profitable and is expected to hold up even during the coming recession. Harvester reportedly has over \$3 billion in back orders. That could put some pressure on the company to settle. Union members have been anticipating a strike for a year and many were well-prepared when they walked out on Nov. 1. Five weeks into the strike nearly 10 percent of the Local strikers hadn't even bothered to pick up their last paycheck.

Harvester workers were angry that the international union delayed their strike

by one month, but nowhere were workers as furious with UAW vice-president Pat Greathouse, who heads the farm equipment division, than at Caterpillar. The 23,000 workers at the Caterpillar complex in Peoria, Ill., struck on Oct. 1 in defiance of the international's orders to extend their old contract. Later in the month they were joined officially by the remainder of the 40,000 Caterpillar workers around the country. Greathouse had promised the agricultural and industrial equipment workers that they would strike all of the companies simultaneously, then reneged on the pledge.

Caterpillar had its own take-away demands and was resisting union insistence on improving a scandalously poor union representation system and on dropping a 1976 contract provision that permits the company to hire five people off the street for every one person promoted within the factory to fill vacancies. The local unions also want time limits on the grievance delays, improved safety provisions, limits on subcontracting and greater freedom in refusing overtime.

"Caterpillar has always been a hard company to deal with on work rules," bargaining committee co-chairman Randy Arrington said. "You can always negotiate good benefits and wages, but people in the shops are screaming, 'We want dignity and we want a say in things.'"

—David Moberg

posing their own watered-down rent control measures.

Cheeks said, however, his group and others would begin researching the special interests of anti-rent control politicians and use legal pressure and public agitation for enforcement of city building codes.

Nuke occupiers face jail in Pa.

Five of six anti-nuclear activists stood up in court and symbolically gagged themselves with scarves after their conviction Nov. 28 on criminal trespassing charges for their peaceful occupation of the Pittsburgh area Shippingport nuclear power plant.

The six face a maximum penalty of a year in jail and a \$2500 fine for protesting the Duquesne Light Company's projected re-opening of the Beaver Valley I nuclear reactor that has been shut down

due to structural defects. Protestors said the Shippingport plant also suffered from radiation leaks.

Beaver County, Pa., judge John Sawyer refused to allow testimony on the question of nuclear safety in his courtroom.

The six were arrested July 15 after sitting down and singing songs after crawling under a fence surrounding the Shippingport plant.

—Eric Leif Davin

Sex case win ends plywood strike

A female worker at Simpson Timber Company in Shelton, Wash., who said her sexual harassment included being told by a job interviewer that her breasts were too large has been ordered re-hired by a judge, effectively ending a two-month long sympathy strike by the In-

ternational Woodworkers of America Local 3-38.

The firing of Toni Gilbertson June 25 for what the company claimed was her inability to "perform the work of an offbearer" on a plywood production line triggered a walkout and support rally by unionists in the small logging community (*In These Times*, Dec. 5).

Gilbertson was hired after filing a sex discrimination suit following an April job interview where she said the interviewer told her she might hurt herself on the job because her breasts were too large. She said he also asked her if she wore a bra and what size it was.

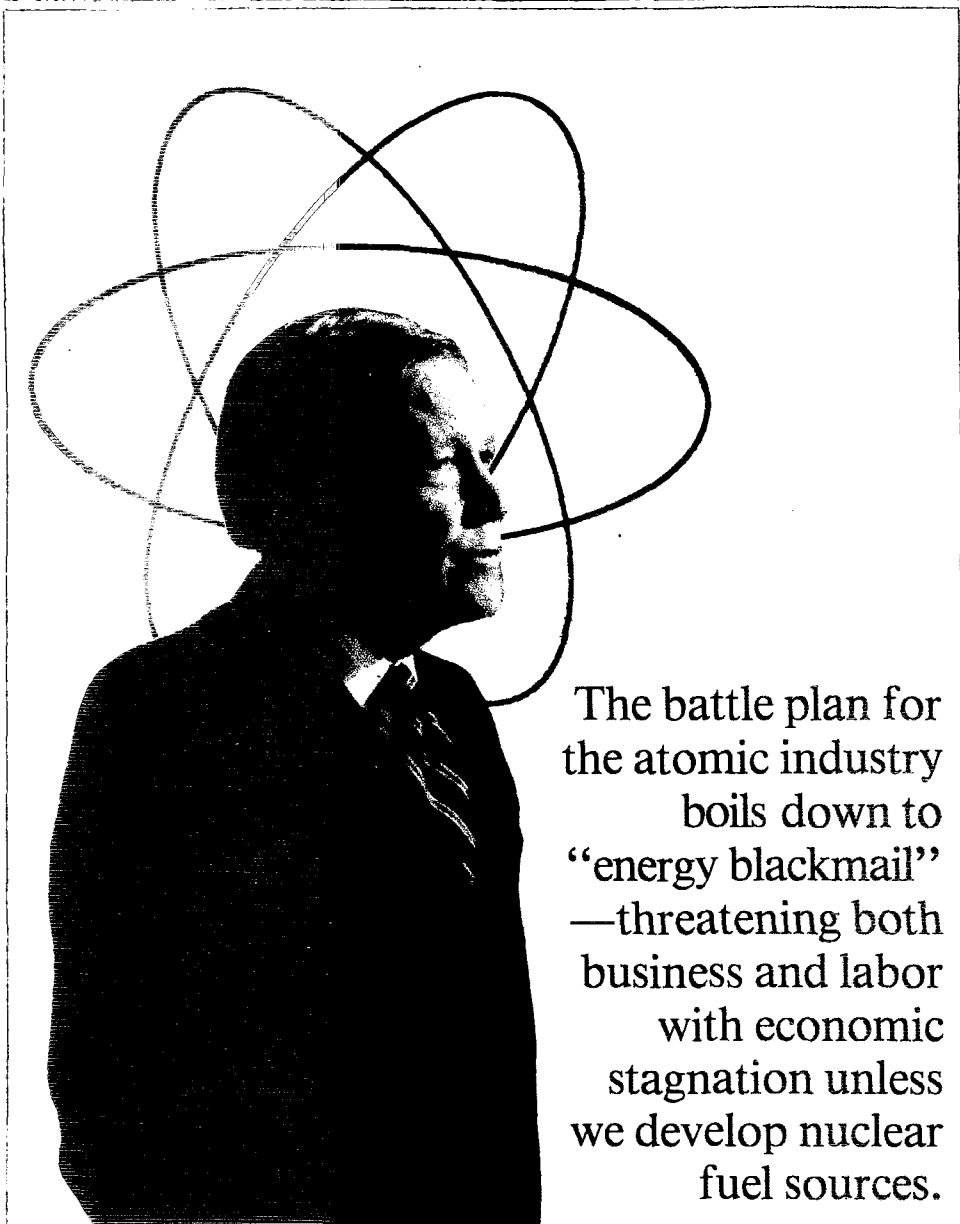
In his re-hiring order, federal judge Jack Tanner noted four other sex discrimination charges against Simpson by women at the 1400-employee mill.

Tanner said the company "attempted to overcome the first instance of discrimination by hiring (Gilbertson), knowing full well they were going to fire her in retaliation for filing a complaint."

—Scott Kauffman

IN THE NATION

NUCLEAR POWER



Robert Kirby of Westinghouse.

The battle plan for the atomic industry boils down to "energy blackmail"—threatening both business and labor with economic stagnation unless we develop nuclear fuel sources.

Nuclear industry leaders launch their counteroffensive

By Mark Hertsgaard

SAN FRANCISCO

ATOP THE ROSE ST. FRANCIS Hotel, the General Electric executive searched the lights of San Francisco for some way to describe the new mood that had come over the nuclear industry since this spring's Three Mile Island (TMI) accident. "I think these guys," he gestured to the roomful of industry honchos crowded into GE's Hospitality Suite, "are tired of being kicked around. After Three Mile Island, they're ready to stand up and fight."

It was the first evening of the annual Atomic Industrial Forum (AIF) and the mood was festive, feisty, and determined.

The 31st floor of the St. Francis swarmed with activity as executives scurried from one suite to another, seeing old friends, renewing business contacts, and kibbitzing about the day's events. Liquor was free, but most old hands drank only moderately. They had attended enough of these conferences to know that evening socializing demanded as clear a head as the afternoon meetings.

The morning's plenary session was a favorite topic of conversation. It had featured a powerhouse of a panel: Sen. James McClure, R-Idaho, unaffectionately known as Mr. Breeder Reactor by nuclear-plant lobbyists on Capitol Hill; Robert Kirby, the head of Westinghouse, the industry's leading company; and Edward Teller, the H-bomb father

of the H-bomb and director emeritus of the Lawrence Livermore nuclear weapons lab at Berkeley.

The St. Francis ballroom was packed when AIF chairman Roger Sherman opened the session with the industry's official response to the findings of the Kemeny Commission. The commission, appointed by President Carter this summer to investigate the TMI accident, had recently delivered a strong indictment of the country's nuclear establishment, concluding that fundamental changes by the industry and the Nuclear Regulatory

Commission (NRC) were necessary to prevent further mishaps. Among other recommendations, the Kemeny Commission proposed a wholesale restructuring of the NRC and tougher punishments for industry safety violations. Soon thereafter, the NRC announced an extension on its temporary nuclear moratorium. (The freeze on operating licenses for new nuclear power plants took effect right after the Harrisburg accident.)

Sherman comforted his audience with the view that the licensing pause was only a political response by the NRC to congressional criticism. Except for the attack on the NRC, said Sherman, the industry largely supported the Kemeny findings and was "relieved that the Kemeny Commission didn't recommend a full moratorium."

McClure then took over and roused the hall with some well-placed attacks on the anti-nuclear forces. Nuclear opponents are an affluent, selfish, new class, he said, that want "to limit economic growth so that no one else's advancement will infringe upon their own enjoyment."

"These people honestly believe they know better than the rest of society," he said.

Conceding that nuclear opponents now have the initiative, McClure nevertheless asserted that "things can be swung to our side" through a combination of factual communication and bold leadership. "This struggle for nuclear energy cannot be won if nuclear proponents continue to surrender the moral position to our opponents," he said. McClure got a long ovation.

The room grew quiet when Westinghouse boss Kirby stood up to deliver the most important speech of the conference. It was significant that he spoke himself rather than sending one of his lieutenants. The Senator and, later, the scientist could rally the troops. Kirby would provide them with a battle plan.

With the help of a slide projector, Kirby quickly linked nuclear power with America's national security. He called the 1970s "the age of imminent oil catastrophe." Onto the screen flashed a global map. A thin white line stretching from the U.S. to the Middle East illustrated the fragility of America's energy supplies.

"Russian bases and Russian ships are located strategically so that they can cut the bulk of our overseas oil supplies in hours," warned Kirby. The second that Kirby uttered the word "Russian," a gigantic, blood-red hammer and sickle exploded onto the screen, blotting out America's oil lifeline. Under today's conditions, continued Kirby, "imposing any moratorium on nuclear power, a source of oil independence, is absolutely ludicrous."

The Cold War theatrics hint at just how angry and threatened the nuclear

industry feels, and how forcefully it plans to strike back. As the plenary session continued, it was clear that the corporations perceive the nuclear fight as being about more than just individual corporate profits. Consciously or not, they feel, nuclear opponents are really attacking economic growth and, by extension, the private enterprise economy that it sustained.

The point was eloquently made in H-bomb creator Teller's statement that, "We are in a desperate struggle against whatever you wish to call them—no growthers, environmentalists, elitists. They may well win the battle and, if they do, America is doomed and freedom is doomed."

According to Kirby, the struggle must be won by 1983 at the latest if the American economy is to endure and prosper. By then the industry must have convinced the public that it learned its lesson at Three Mile Island and that such an accident will never happen again. But just in case their born-again dedication to safety does not play in Peoria, the corporations should be ready to use that most fearsome of all capitalist weapons—the power to slow the economy and cast workers from their jobs.

The public, in Kirby's words, "will have to choose...between nuclear energy and some tough alternatives. Alternatives like inflation, higher unemployment, no economic growth and national insecurity." To complete the threat of energy blackmail, Kirby pointed out that such an "economic slowdown" would blast minorities, women and youth first and hardest.

With the stakes and options thus neatly arranged, Kirby assigned responsibilities for the fight ahead. Washington should hurry up and solve the problem of radioactive waste. The government's

Continued on page 17.

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By Robert Howard

IN THE 1930S AND '40S, THE UNITED Mine Workers became the paradigm for America's industrial unions. Miners were, in John L. Lewis' phrase, "the shock troops of American labor." The UMW was the model to which all unions aspired.

The long, 30-year decline of the UMW has turned this symbol inside out. The union is now considered something of a pariah, a special case whose peculiar history of corruption, violence, internal disunity, and poor leadership has placed it on the margins of the labor movement.

The story of the UMW is one of the breakdown of power. The major corporations, primarily big oil companies, that are rapidly expanding their control over the coal industry are attacking the ideological foundations of the union. In the process, they are destroying the uniform system of benefits that linked miners to each other and to their union, replacing it with a new system based on the identification of the worker with his employer.

To fully grasp what miners are losing, we must first understand what it was that they had won. The roots of the present crisis are found in the UMW's triumphs of the 1940s. The enormous demand for coal induced by World War II gave coal miners the power to push their demands to the limit. A wave of war-time strikes led by Lewis had three goals: to spread the union throughout the industry, to establish the first coal mine health and safety laws, and to win comprehensive health and retirement assistance tailored to the unique needs of workers in America's most dangerous industry. Each goal was to reinforce the others; each was to expand the miners' control over working conditions.

The greatest accomplishment of this period was the UMW's Health and Retirement Fund, established after the strike of 1946. Bitterly opposed by industry, union-wide health and pension benefits were funded by a tonnage royalty on all coal produced in union mines.

As the coal boom of the '40s became the extended decline of the '50s, the Fund faced financial difficulties. The shift to oil drastically reduced coal production and, with it, Fund revenues. The industry-union co-operation that typified coal in the 1950s can be explained in part as an effort by the UMW to stabilize the industry and solidify union control over the benefit system. The vehicle of this co-operation was the centralized UMW-Bituminous Coal Operators Association bargaining structure that has shaped industry labor relations ever since.

But now the same pressures that are splitting the BCOA are also destroying the health and retirement system. In 1978, the western operators negotiated a separate agreement with different health and pension plans. And, after a three-and-a-half-month strike, coal operators in the East, led by Consolidation Coal, abolished the health plan as well, replacing it with a conventional private insurance system. The pension fund is the next company target. Many observers believe that Consol's withdrawal from the BCOA is the first step in an effort to restructure pensions, like the health system, along individual company lines.

Dismantling this industry-wide health and retirement system weakens the union and divides miners. Replacing the Fund with a system based on the individual company makes them dependent on the corporation in a way they never were before.

It is important to grasp the unprecedented nature of this change as it is experienced by the individual miner. The present state of coal-field health care is a revealing example. Most attention has focused on the fact that now the miner must pay for health services—up to \$200 per year—whereas before they were free of charge. But the change cuts deeper.

First, the quality of coal-field health care has been compromised. The primary accomplishment of the Fund was the network of community health clinics throughout Appalachia, financed in part by a retainer from the fund. These clinics pioneered preventive services shaped to the special needs of a semi-rural population engaged in uniquely dangerous in-

COAL

Part II

LABOR

A troubled union loses ground



In 1974 miners marched in Harlan, Ky., to protest company violence against strikers at the Brookside mine.

dustrial work. However, the shift to a commercial, fee-for-service system means the clinics no longer receive a Fund retainer. Many have been forced to cut back both staff and the services.

According to the contract, every miner still receives equal benefits. But, practically speaking, the multiplicity of insurance companies—each coal company contracts with a different one; some clinics deal with as many as 15—means a multiplicity of interpretations about what is allowable under the contract.

Finally, the miner has also lost something less tangible, but perhaps more important. What used to be the union's health system now belongs to the company—a subtle form of dispossession.

At the same time, the poor economic situation in coal—some 20,000 miners have been laid off in the past year—has generated widespread job insecurity. Those still working say that production speeds up, in spite of the slump, as competition intensifies and companies begin

to close their least productive mines. "Since last December, we've had about five pep-talks," says one miner. "Shut-down speeches I call them."

When miners are pushed to produce, mine safety suffers. By mid-November, fatalities in West Virginia mines totaled 31 for the year, topping the 30 mark for the first time since 1975. Most officials—union leaders included—are hard put to explain the increase. They talk about "human error" and "individual carelessness." But the campaign against "over regulation" being waged throughout American industry has hit coal as well. State and federal safety inspectors (most of whom are former company foremen) are easing up on enforcement. In West Virginia, there is even a campaign to allow the state's Board of Coal Mine Health and Safety to weaken existing state laws.

Richard Cooper has been a union safety inspector since the position was created in 1973. He claims that the gains

made in health and safety are now being whittled away: "We're beginning to go back to where we were in '73 and '74." As enforcement grows lax, the union has to "enforce state and federal laws through the grievance system."

Leaders of labor and management claim that arbitrations in the coal industry have declined since the 109-day strike. Recent evidence suggests that while this was true for awhile, grievances are on the rise again. Howard Green, a union field representative in the UMW's District 17 in West Virginia, says that the increase is primarily in two areas—health and safety and labor discipline.

Labor relations textbooks define arbitration as a neutral mechanism for the resolution of workplace grievances. Howard Green sees it as a mechanism for displacing conflict rather than resolving it by taking it out of the hands of the individuals involved. For safety issues, in particular, to be forced into arbitration is already a bad sign.

Green offers an example: According to the contract and the law, miners have the right to refuse to operate equipment they consider unsafe. However, such a decision must be made in "good faith"—a judgement call that often ends in arbitration. In one case, the Arbitration Review Board—the "Supreme Court" of the industry grievance system—reinstated miners who had been discharged for exercising their safety rights. But the Board failed to award them back pay for the period they were out of work. "Miners are not going to be safety consciousness if they feel the law won't back them," says Green.

Arbitration plays a central role in the systematic weakening of the UMW. Some companies use the system to punish local unions financially. An average case costs both parties about \$500 but some that have reached the ARB have cost as much as \$42,000. Too much arbitration can bankrupt local unions and the district.

Arbitration is also a handy mechanism for coal operators to win gains from the union that they could not achieve in contract negotiations. For example, BCOA hard-liners failed to win sanctions against wildcat strikers in the 1978 contract. But two subsequent ARB decisions have accomplished the same end. Now, anyone found responsible for "fomenting" a wildcat can be fired without consideration of past work record or extenuating circumstances. Rich Trumka, a former miner and UMW lawyer, explains: "It behooves the companies to violate the contract. They force a case into arbitration and even if they lose, they still get away with it for however long it takes to get a decision. Whereas if miners strike to enforce the contract, they get fired."

Arbitration, too, is a form of dispossession in a union where "no contract, no work" has long been the rallying cry of the rank and file. Sentiment against the arbitration procedure is nearly universal in District 17. At a meeting to prepare for the union's constitutional convention—now in progress in Denver—some 40 district locals voted unanimously to urge union leaders to negotiate the removal of the ARB from the next contract.

For the miners it is the most vivid example of an increasingly familiar experience—ceding their power and their fate to others—the private insurance companies, the state safety experts, the arbitrators, the corporation itself.

The sense of loss that shapes miners' lives includes a deep uncertainty about what they can do to change it. "Nobody has got the answer," says one. "People are looking for somebody."

One response to the present crisis is to call for a renaissance of traditional union activism—the right to strike, organize the unorganized, repeal of Taft-Hartley and other anti-labor laws. Such echoes from the militant '40s are essential but at present they are little more than slogans, far removed from the economic goals and political realities.

Another temptation is to "break with the past" entirely, to confront radically changing economic structure with new practices and new tactics. In response to Consol's withdrawal from the BCOA, some miners talk about "targeting" a strike against Consol exclusively during

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ON THE JOB

Anti-union firms step up the pressure

By Richard Kuzis

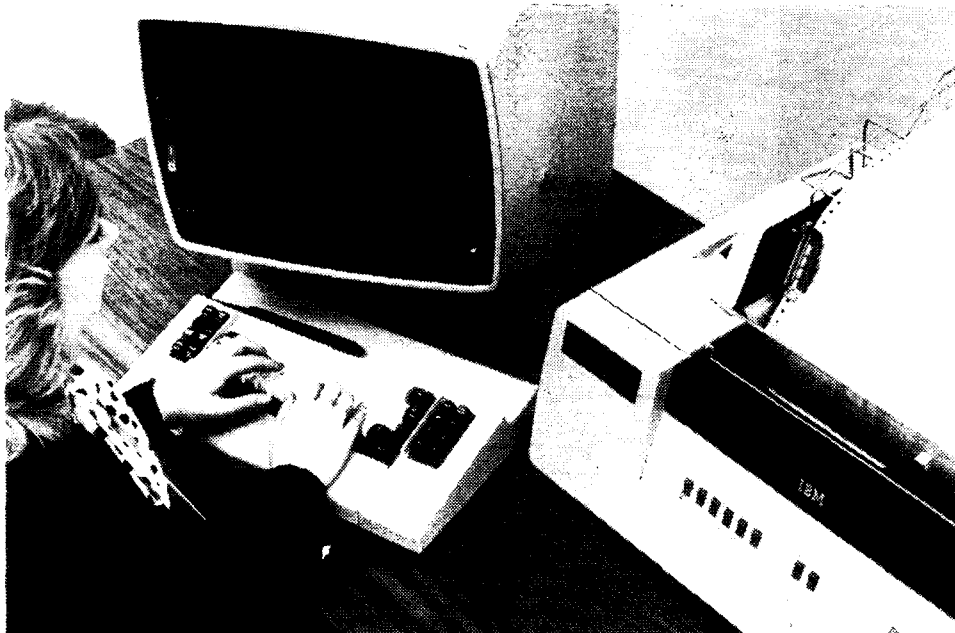
WASHINGTON

THE DEFEAT OF LABOR LAW reform legislation in 1978 was public proof of a situation that already had become obvious. American workers—and the labor movement that represents one-fourth of them—are having a difficult time defending themselves against sophisticated management efforts to retain and reassert control in the workplace.

The extent to which these efforts have altered the nature of labor-management relations and have increased stress and pressure for many workers was recently the subject of five days of hearings on Capitol Hill. In an effort to develop a better understanding of problems facing workers on the job, the Subcommittee on Labor-Management Relations of the House Committee on Education and Labor heard testimony in mid-October and again Dec. 4 and Dec. 6 on issues as diverse but interrelated as the use of management consultants in union-busting campaigns, the federal government's financial support of such activities, polygraph testing in the workplace, employees' right to privacy and sexual harassment on the job. The picture that emerged was that of a workforce under attack, as Rep. Dale Kildee, D-Mich., offered, "not by clubs but by law degrees."

Testimony focused on the growing use of high-priced professional consultants to design and lead union-busting drives. R.V. Durham, President of Teamsters Local 391 in Greensboro, N.C. described how, after his union won an election at a Pittsburgh Plate Glass Corporation (PPG) facility of 1400 employees in Lexington, N.C., the company hired a law firm from Florida to make sure that a contract was never negotiated. Jesse Hogg, the lawyer spearheading PPG's campaign, boasts that he can keep the issue tied up in litigation for at least five years without having to bargain for the union.

So far, a year and a half have passed, several union leaders have been fired illegally, and the company still refuses to negotiate.



Employers are gathering and storing more information on workers, and hearing testimony raised questions about employees' right to privacy.

Employee rights are threatened by new management tactics, witnesses tell a congressional subcommittee.

A former undercover detective, Rocci West, testified how he led a group of 25 detectives hired by Anja Engineering Co. in Southern California to break up a union drive among the 225 employees. The detectives identified and isolated union activists and then set them up to be fired or arrested. West claimed responsibility for 46 firings, 16 arrests, and one deportation at Anja. The union election was never held.

The AFL-CIO has been paying careful attention to the booming industry. Alan A. Kister, director of organizing for the AFL-CIO, knows of 300 anti-union consulting firms and believes there are "thousands of them." One of the most notorious is Modern Management Methods, staffed by \$100 per hour trained professionals. Between 1974 and 1976, "the 3Ms" was employed by at least 14 hospitals in Massachusetts. Six of these hospitals paid a total of more than

\$250,000 to conduct their anti-union campaigns. It is estimated that over \$100 million will be paid this year to such firms.

The impact of these firm's activities is significant. The union success rate in representation elections has dropped from 57 percent in 1968 to only 46 percent in 1978. More dramatic has been the rise in decertification elections (strongly advocated by consultants) from 239 in 1968 to 807 last year, with unions losing 74 percent of them.

Many consultants claim a 90-95 percent success rate in beating unions. Careful use of survey techniques and surveillance by supervisors help pinpoint union activists and sympathizers. Then, sophisticated psychological strategies—some of them legal, and others not—are used to intimidate and get rid of "problem" employees. Whenever necessary, the process is dressed out in long and expen-

sive legal battles. Given the inadequacies of enforcement and protection under current labor laws, consultants and the companies they work for have an almost free rein. By the time the NLRB catches up to them, they will have, more often than not, already broken the union effort.

AFL-CIO testimony described in detail how federal funds are often used to subsidize anti-union campaigns. Until the practice was uncovered, Boston hospitals were charging the cost of "3Ms" services to Medicaid. Rockwell International included over \$1 million of anti-union consulting costs in its cost-plus Defense Department aerospace contracts. Bernstein argued that such activity "flies in the face of the national labor policy 'to encourage the practice and procedure of collective bargaining' as articulated in the National Labor Relations Act." He asked the subcommittee to request that the General Accounting Office investigate such abuses.

Testimony on other workplace pressures—the privacy rights of employees as firms gather and store more information about their workforce, the ever present problem of sexual harassment on the job, and the new problem of irresponsible use of polygraph tests by employers to screen or intimidate workers—focused on the need for legislation to curb dangerous and discriminatory practices against individual workers. Taken together, the varied testimonies gave a sense of broad power and prerogatives that can be—and, in many cases, is—abused by employers.

Chairman Frank Thompson, Jr., D-N.J., promised to continue the oversight hearings in the future. Yet he himself expressed frustration. "We have had much testimony like this over the years," he told R.V. Durham. "The Darlington Mills case is in its 24th year," he said.

George Miller, D-Calif., seemed to sum up what most of the Democrats on the subcommittee felt—and what was perhaps the underlying reason for holding these hearings—when he said, "To leave labor law in the *status quo* is to provide tremendous advantage to those who want to flaunt the law." "I hope these hearings will lead us back to the broader issue of labor law reform," Miller said. ■

California firms pay for spying, dirty tricks against the unions

By Sam Kushner

TWO YEARS AGO DON HORMANN, then an 18-year-old worker at the Anja Engineering Co. in his home town of Monrovia, Calif. was arrested and charged with stealing from his employer. Not so coincidentally, Hormann was among those who were attempting to unionize the Anja plant. He had been gathering authorization cards on behalf of the AFL-CIO's Printing Specialties and Paper Products Union.

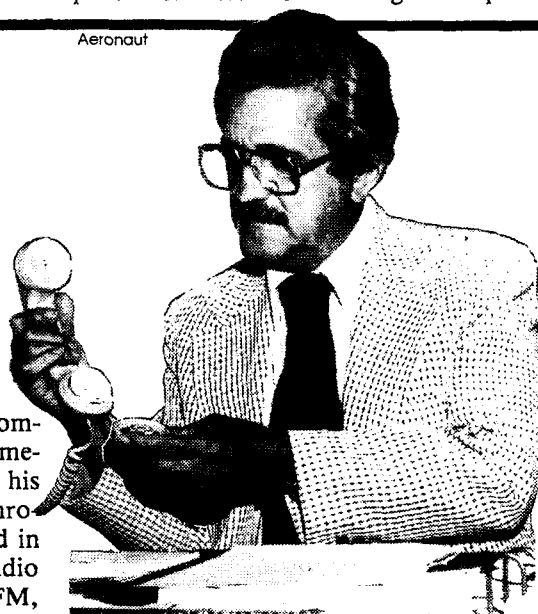
In October, Rocky W. Pettigrew, who was an employee of the West Coast Detective Agency at the time Hormann was employed at Anja and who was on assignment at that plant, told a congressional subcommittee that he was responsible for the Hormann frame-up. He also told the committee about the role he and other detectives played in frustrating a union drive at Anja.

Hormann has announced that he intends to bring a multi-million dollar lawsuit against the West Coast Detective

Agency and the Anja Engineering Company. He did not know about the frame-up until Pettigrew went public about his role as an anti-union spy at the Monrovia firm. That role was first revealed in an interview with this writer on my radio program, Labor Scene on KPFK-FM, Los Angeles. The anti-labor plot was further exposed in an article I wrote in the Opinion Section of the *Los Angeles Times*. As a result of those revelations Pettigrew was asked to testify before Rep. Frank Thompson's subcommittee as the lead-off witness in its latest series of hearings on workplace pressures and anti-union activity.

The frame up.

In 1977 the Printing Specialties and Paper Products Union attempted to organize the workers at Anja Engineering Company in Monrovia. Unknown to the union at the time, the company had hired a large number of detectives from the Southern California based West Coast Detective Agency to disrupt the organizing drive. In fact, the union later discovered that three of the seven members



Machinist's district president Celebron discovered that his phone was bugged.

of its organizing committee were undercover agents.

In July of 1977, the union petitioned the National Labor Relations Board (NLRB) for a representation election. But three months later it withdrew the petition. The union had discovered that it was facing a very confusing situation. According to union president Bernard L. Sapiro, the plant's work force had changed drastically during that period. "We lost 46 people in one month through firings, quits and layoffs," he said.

One of the West Coast detectives with Anja at that time was an employee hired under the name of Rocci S. West. His real name was Rocky W. Pettigrew, an ex-police officer from Las Vegas,

Nev. Ultimately Pettigrew, who was once a member of the Hotel, Restaurant and Bartenders Union, began to have misgivings about his work and decided to talk.

Pettigrew appears to be well acquainted with the intelligence community in Southern California and I asked him how many other detective agencies, like West Coast, are engaged in anti-union spying.

"Offhand, in the immediate greater Los Angeles area I know of 10 at least because I have friends that work at at least 10," he said. "They are undercover agents assigned in various plants in City of Commerce, in Azusa, in El Monte, in Burbank, in the city of Carson and at various other plants where they are doing the same type of work that I was doing."

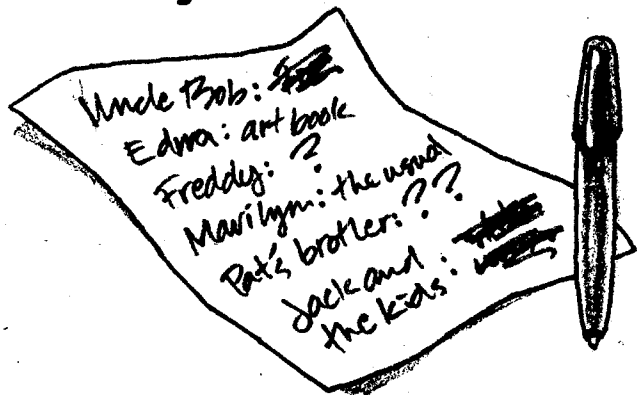
The West Coast Detective Agency, Pettigrew said, is the third largest California detective agency and since his badge number with the company was 602 he assumes that it has at least 600 agents on its payroll. He believes that there were as many as 25 agents on his shift at Anja.

Each of the agents at Anja was paid \$15 for each daily report filed with the detective firm, plus expenses. In addition, they were paid the regular hourly rate for the factory job to which they were assigned.

Pettigrew, who kept duplicates of all the reports he filed with West Coast, included comments about the personal lives of the other employees, the status of some as undocumented workers, and

Continued on page 8.

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Tricks.

Continued from page 7.

employees' work habits. Pro-union activities were also noted. "We put in writing that so and so was using his break period talking up the union. It (the report on union activity) wasn't filed away in the regular channels like the other reports.

"I was supposed to set up Don Hormann who was passing out the union cards for the Southern California Printing Specialties and Paper Products Union. The first week I started to work at Anja I was informed about Hormann and a few other employees... Those were the names I was given to get something on, to dig something out on, to get them busted, get them fired, get them out. That they were strong union and these were the exact words that Mr. Little gave me. Well, in his [Hormann's] case we couldn't get him to steal anything on his own so I collaborated with him in stealing \$2,500 worth of cigarette lighters from the butane department of Anja because Don at that time was the inter-department truck driver for Anja.

So I called the home office and we had a surveillance investigator (a West Coast supervisor) who was on a stake-out across the street from Anja Engineering with a camera taking pictures of us loading the truck, then he followed us to the subject's [Hormann's] house, took pictures of the unloading there and when he came back to the plant he [the supervisor] subsequently called the Monrovia Police Department, who came and placed Mr. Hormann under arrest for grand theft."

At one time, Pettigrew said, he raised the question of entrapment with the head of the West Coast Detective Agency. "I was informed by Mr. Little that being a private investigator we were not bound by the entrapment laws. But by my being a former policeman for 12 years before moving to California, four years of which I was a federal agent, I knew better.

After the union found out about the detectives at Anja, it filed unfair labor practice charges against the firm. NLRB Region 31 came to an agreement with the company—but not with the union—to post a notice to all of its employees in which, among other things, management promised that it "will not employ detectives to engage in surveillance of Printing Specialties and Paper Products Union or of employees' union activities at our Monrovia facility."

Believing that it may have overcome the negative effect of the detectives at Anja Engineering, the union this year decided once again to try to organize the workers there. On August 31, in a representation election conducted by the NLRB, 100 workers voted for the union and 98 voted against. However, there are eight challenged ballots and the disposition of these will decide the ultimate outcome of the election.

Dirty tricks.

Like the Anja organizers, the International Association of Machinists (IAM) in Burbank, Calif., has been victimized this year by dirty tricks. IAM District 727 President Rick Celebron two years ago suspected that his phone at the union's headquarters was bugged. Unexplained information leaks aroused his suspicions, but he dismissed them at the time as being "too far fetched."

But Celebron had his suspicions confirmed several months ago. One of the union's 12,000 members at the Lockheed-California Company had called the union over the Lockheed Centrex lines, which are directly tied into the IAM office. When she made another call, on the same line, several moments later she was surprised to hear a replay of the first conversation.

After this was reported to Celebron, he called in private investigators to check the union office for possible wiretaps. "It took only an hour or two for these men to discover the device that had been

wired into the speaking head of my phone," he said.

Anxious to track down the source of the phone tap, Celebron immediately called in experts from the Burbank police department and the Pacific Telephone and Telegraph Co.

Celebron says that he was informed by officer Irv Allen of the intelligence division of the Burbank police that his investigation into the bugging had included two meetings with Lockheed-California president Ed Cortright. But a spokesman for the aerospace firm said that "Lockheed has no knowledge of how or why a telephone tap may have been placed in the IAM office."

The mystery of the IAM bugging remains unsolved.

And Celebron is still disturbed by the Burbank police in relation to the bugging. "For one thing," he said, "I am wondering why Burbank police investigator Hal De Rosie pocketed the listening device after directing Pacific Telephone people to remove it from my phone. I protested the removal of the device, pointing out to De Rosie that its absence would most certainly alert those unknown persons who were recording or listening to my calls [and] that only with the device intact could the eavesdroppers be traced. My protests were ignored."

On Nov. 2 Celebron filed a claim for damages with the city of Burbank. As of this writing he has gotten no response from the city government. He indicates that if no response is received within 45 days of filing the claim he will likely take the issue to court.

There also appears to be some other questionable practices involving an IAM that has been on strike in Burbank since May. The strike is against Menasco Manufacturing Company, a subsidiary of Colt Industries.

There have been many reported instances of violence during the strike. One night, for example, a picket, Rick Rahl, was hit by a car driven by a strikebreaker. The union reported the incident to the city officials and included the name of the strikebreaker, Kenneth Acosta. Rahl was hospitalized for 11 days as a result of this accident. Burbank city attorney Samuel Gorlick has since informed the union that all charges against Acosta have been dropped.

On Nov. 27 Francis Keller, a union carpenter who is an active member of the rank and file Trade Unionists for Action and Democracy (TUAD), was on the Menasco picket line. He was arrested for resisting arrest. The police claim he failed to move out of the path of a police vehicle. The other pickets with Keller at the time of his arrest tell a different story. They say Keller was kicked in the shins, choked, and maced by police.

The Menasco strike is still in progress. Questions have also been raised concerning police conduct during a long and bitter strike against the Kraco Co. of Compton Calif., which has since been settled.

In that strike, on June 21, one of the Kraco strikers, Carlos Rocha, was shot in the chest in Lynwood, about one mile from the struck plant. He still has the bullet in his body, lodged close to his heart. The United Electrical Radio and Machine Workers contends that Rocha was sitting unarmed in his parked car and raised his hands when Gus Rivera, a company guard, approached, gun in hand.

No charges were ever filed against Rivera.

One of the ironies of the Kraco strike was that one of the company representatives most active in recruiting strikebreakers, almost all of whom were undocumented workers, was a former agent of the Immigration and Naturalization Service.

In light of all these events, and probably many more that have gone unreported, the Workers Rights Committee of the Southern California American Civil Liberties Union is calling for a public hearing into the growing number of illegal anti-labor actions in the Los Angeles area.

Sam Kushner is a former union organizer and author of *Long Road to Delano*. A longer version of this article appeared in the *Opinion* section of the *Los Angeles Times*.

IN THE WORLD

IRAN

Nationalists, leftists challenge Khomeini

By Paul C. Sullivan

DESPITE LARGELY SUCCESSFUL attempts to focus popular dissatisfaction on the crimes of the shah, and his U.S. backers, ayatollah Khomeini and his Iranian Islamic republic face a growing domestic crisis.

As the U.S. embassy takeover continues, so, too, do the problems that instigated the anti-shah revolution. The current unrest in the Azerbaijan region is only the tip of the iceberg. Unemployment is approaching 50 percent. Inflation and shortages of basic commodities continue to worsen. Despite announced plans to resettle the urban jobless on agricultural projects in the countryside, major population centers continue to mushroom at an alarming rate. Censorship and political repression are again a part of everyday life. Attempts to establish worker control in the factories and regional autonomy for national minorities have been met with ill-trained, poorly disciplined units of armed "Revolutionary Guards."

Two years of intense struggle against tyranny have left the Iranian public too highly politicized to submit easily to imposed authority. Khomeini's hard-core base has withered as opposition groups organize throughout the country.

Despite the nationalist, pro-Islamic atmosphere created by the embassy takeover, voter turnout to approve the new constitution was less than 50 percent.

Among those who no longer recognize his leadership, Khomeini's most formidable challengers to date are found among the national minorities and the left.

It was the Marxist movement that first challenged Khomeini's authority. During the final months of the anti-Shah revolution, the Organization of Iranian People's Fedayeen guerrillas ignored the religious leadership's calls for "peaceful protest" in the face of tanks and machine guns. Veterans of underground activity, Fedayeen cadre helped transform religious rallies where Islamic leaders called for "struggle through silence" into militant, chanting, anti-regime protests. Their decisive role in the February insurrection that toppled the shah's regime won both the Fedayeen and the radical Islamic Mojahedeen of the People of Iran tremendous respect and a growing mass base.

The Fedayeen have emerged as the strongest and best organized force on the left. Together with other progressive and left organizations, they have used the relatively open political atmosphere since the shah's ouster to organize support networks and semi-clandestine cells throughout major industries, in the countryside, and among students, intellectuals,

unemployed workers and the national minorities. They have taken a strong position in defense of minority rights. After some delay, they announced support for the demands of the student occupiers, but argued that the embassy seizure was not "the best way to fight imperialism." That position drew sharpest attack yet from Khomeini: "The U.S. doesn't need to send its military here...they (the Fedayeen) are the number one servant of our number one enemy."

Despite Khomeini's condemnations of the Fedayeen, it is the national minorities that pose the most immediate internal threat to his regime. The new constitution makes virtually no mention of their special needs or rights.

In view of the government's recent rout in Kurdistan, the embassy seizure couldn't have come at a better time. The

Kurds, who participated fully in the revolution, oppose Khomeini's centralized government, and have demanded regional autonomy within the Iranian state. When "Revolutionary Guards" were sent to Kurdistan to enforce order, the civilian population fought back, and the regular army refused to get involved. The poorly trained Guards were no match for the Kurds. In the face of huge death tolls and rising desertions, Khomeini had to back down.

A cease-fire is now in effect throughout Kurdistan, and the Kurds have regained control over most of the area. Negotiations have been scheduled on the terms prescribed by the Kurdish forces.

The Kurdish movement is led by a group of progressive and left organizations. In a statement released at the

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CANADA

Socialists in the New Democratic Party come to life

By Bill Tieleman

ATORONTO
AFTER FIVE YEARS OF languishing in the political cold, the left wing of the New Democratic Party flexed its long-dormant muscles at the party's national convention here in late November.

And to the consternation of NDP leaders intent on moving the social democratic party to the center of the political spectrum in the quest for electoral success, the left found it had considerably more clout than anyone had anticipated.

The NDP establishment, led by Ed Broadbent, had gone into the convention looking for support in building the sort of platform that would enable the party to pick up votes from the weakened Liberal party, and establish itself English Canada's new opposition party after the next federal election. Liberal party leader Pierre Trudeau, who served as prime minister for 11 years, resigned just a day before the NDP convention began. A few days earlier, the NDP won a byelection in Saskatchewan's Prince Albert riding. These events, coupled with strong public support for the NDP campaign to preserve Canada's medical insurance program and to save the country's public-owned oil corporation, PetroCanada, from being dismantled and sold, led the NDP to stage a political kill in the air.

So it was a major surprise when the night before the convention a meeting called to discuss a resolution dealing with the public ownership of industry attracted more than 130 delegates, about 10 percent of those attending. Out of the meeting came a loosely-knit alliance,



Ed Broadbent.

soon known as the left caucus, that was able to force debate on socialist and environmental issues that the party hierarchy seemed eager to avoid.

Although the NDP leadership was able to win the more controversial votes on public ownership, uranium mining and Quebec's right to self-determination, they were surprised and alarmed by the prospect of a strong left rising phoenix-like from the ashes of the party's defunct Waffle wing.

The Waffle, a strongly socialist and nationalistic movement, had set itself up for a party purge by establishing an alternate structure within the NDP and attempting to take over leadership positions. The new left caucus so far has been content simply to push its issues among the delegates and onto the convention floor.

The left caucus also introduced a resolution, passed unanimously, supporting Jean-Claude Parrot, the president of the Canadian Union of Postal Workers. Parrot was jailed for his part in a strike last year in which CUPW members re-

The NDP leadership won on the major controversial issues, but they were alarmed by the vitality of a new coalition of leftists. Support from the steelworkers and the UAW helped the right.

fused to leave their picket lines after being legislated back to work.

The convention vote was a serious slap in the face to Broadbent and the party leadership, who have failed to give strong support to CUPW or Parrot.

But despite the left caucus' success in bringing some resolutions to the floor, the NDP establishment could rely on the conservatism of the party's big labor delegates—mostly from the United Steelworkers of America and the United Auto Workers—to keep the party moving toward the political center. Broadbent triumphantly announced after the convention that the NDP has become the only genuine opposition to the minority Conservative government of Joe Clark, despite holding only 27 of the 282 seats in Parliament.

NDP confidence rests on the fact that the Liberals have effectively become a regional party—67 of their 114 parliament members come from Quebec. The Liberals were able to elect only three members of the four Western provinces in the May federal election that ousted them from power,

leaving the NDP the only real alternative there to the Conservatives.

But in its headlong rush for power the NDP establishment may have tried to shelve its socialist principles a bit too quickly for its membership's liking. Left caucus leaders, while stressing their intention to avoid the confrontations that spelled the end of the Waffle—and the party's left wing—are determined the NDP will not shift to the right without a strong fight.

"We're not there to polarize, we're there to mobilize the party to the left, not keep it in the 'radical center'—That's already crowded," says John Rodriguez, NDP labor critic and caucus leader.

The convention ended without serious conflict within the party. The membership voiced their support for the NDP leadership's industrial strategy, for its fight to save PetroCanada—which could topple the minority government—and for its promise to take a strong stand on women's rights into the next election. With the Liberal party leadership contest shaping up to be a fight between two high-powered corporate lawyers with close ties to big oil companies, Broadbent was safe in stating that "the NDP will be seen as the only party that does offer a difference to ordinary Canadians."

The left caucus also had reason for celebrating. It demonstrated that the party's left wing was active and growing. The big question for the left now is whether it can continue to gain support among the membership, and what effect that will have on party policy. No one predicts a party split, but any increase in the left's power by the next convention will be seen as a serious threat to the establishment.

Bill Tieleman is the national bureau chief for the Canadian University Press.

TURIN, ITALY

OUTSIDE THE GATES OF THE FIAT factory at Rivalta, a few miles from Turin, Carmelo Bandiera, 30, and Licio Rossi, 33, have been on a hunger strike for nearly a week. Both have worked in FIAT plants for 10 years, after coming north to Turin from Italy's chronically jobless south. They describe themselves as "revolutionary communists" and were among the 61 workers FIAT fired Oct. 9, claiming that their "improper behavior" was making the factory unmanageable. Carmelo and Licio began fasting to demand their jobs back.

Inside the factory, FIAT's new "Strada" model is being almost noiselessly put together by the Robogate, the most completely automated automobile assembly system in the world.

Car bodies glide along magnetic tracks, stopping at a series of welding stations where crowds of welder-robots zero in on as many as 98 points at a time, according to their computerized instructions. The system can be programmed to tackle a variety of models. Nearby, an unmanned computer control room gives orders to the unmanned machines.

But FIAT cars are not made just by revolutionary communists and robots. The company's 150,000 auto workers are a cross section of a "new working class" that is changing the nature of the Italian labor movement on the eve of the '80s.

Nearly a fourth of FIAT workers are women. Many of the younger workers have been to college and don't mean to hang around the factory longer than they have to. Absenteeism is rising and union membership is dropping—only about 35 percent belong to the Metal Workers Federation (FLM). The union itself has been weakened by a three-way tug of war between the national leadership's unpopular economic austerity policy, the '60s-style activism at the shop level, and the individualistic behavior of the younger workers.

FIAT has chosen this moment of confusion in labor ranks to wrest back some of the power lost to workers in the late '60s. Now that efforts to assert worker control have degenerated into vacillation between rebelliousness and indifference, the time is ripe to counterattack in the name of factory "governability."

The Fabbrica Italiana di Automobili Torino (FIAT) is a legendary battlefield in the Italian class struggle. Sixty years ago, Antonio Gramsci and the factory

A new assault on union power at FIAT—the legendary battleground of Italy's class struggle—exploits confusion in the ranks of labor.

By Diana Johnstone

FIAT



council movement flourished briefly in Turin. FIAT workers took the lead in the great 1920 general strike whose defeat opened the way to the rise of Fascism. In March 1943, FIAT workers set off the final uprising against Fascist rule with another general strike.

FIAT strongman Vittorio Valletta (chairman from 1946 to 1966) set out in the post-war period to break a revived labor movement. The Italian General Confederation of Labor (CGIL) and its Metalworkers Federation (FIOM) were attacked as communist.

With backing from the American Federation of Labor, rival confederations, the CISL and the UIL, were set up in 1949. FIAT also promoted its own paternalistic company union, SIDA. A main objective was to defeat DGIL-FIOM candidates to the worker-elected Internal Commission. Union organizers were openly fired and workers were afraid to support CGIL candidates for fear of being transferred to "solitary confinement" posts or losing their jobs altogether.

By the mid-'50s, Valletta could rightfully boast to U.S. Ambassador Clare Booth Luce that his methods had paid off. Whereas in 1954, the CGIL-FIOM still got 63 percent of FIAT workers' votes, in 1955 it fell to 37 percent. Valletta's repression virtually drove the CGIL underground at FIAT, although nationwide the union held its own against its rivals: No strike succeeded at FIAT from 1953 to 1962.

A veteran of those dark days, CGIL regional secretary Giuseppe Muraro, a lifelong socialist, insists that the CGIL was never a "Communist union." Socialists like himself share leadership with Communists.

But in the '60s, things changed, Muraro recalls, due to the rise of a new left in all three labor confederations. In the Christian-Democratic CISL, the Catholic leftists replaced party hacks. In the UIL, Socialists took leadership away from Social Democrats. In the CGIL itself, Bruno Trentin took leadership of the FIOM in 1962, vowing to strengthen democracy at the base.

In March 1968, the CISL, the UIL and even the SIDA backed a CGIL strike over pensions, opening an unprecedented phase of labor struggle leading to a merger of the three rival metalworkers unions—the FLM—and the creation of factory councils as the new vehicle for worker democracy.

These worker assemblies, like the student assemblies of the same period, became forums for the political education of a generation.

Lotta Continua and other far left groups condemned the councils as a union attempt to blunt spontaneous revolutionary struggle. But, in fact, the Italian unions had to accept an unpredictable injection of rank and file ideas and a turnover in elected delegates fatal to stagnant bureaucracy.

In France in May and June 1968, the unions (and the Communist Party) stifled the spontaneous workers' movement by deflecting qualitative demands, instead forcing workers to settle for quantitative wage raises (rapidly lost to inflation). But the Italian unions raised a wide range of novel work-place issues, from construction of new factories in the South—where people need jobs most—to the right of all workers to adult education courses of their choice.

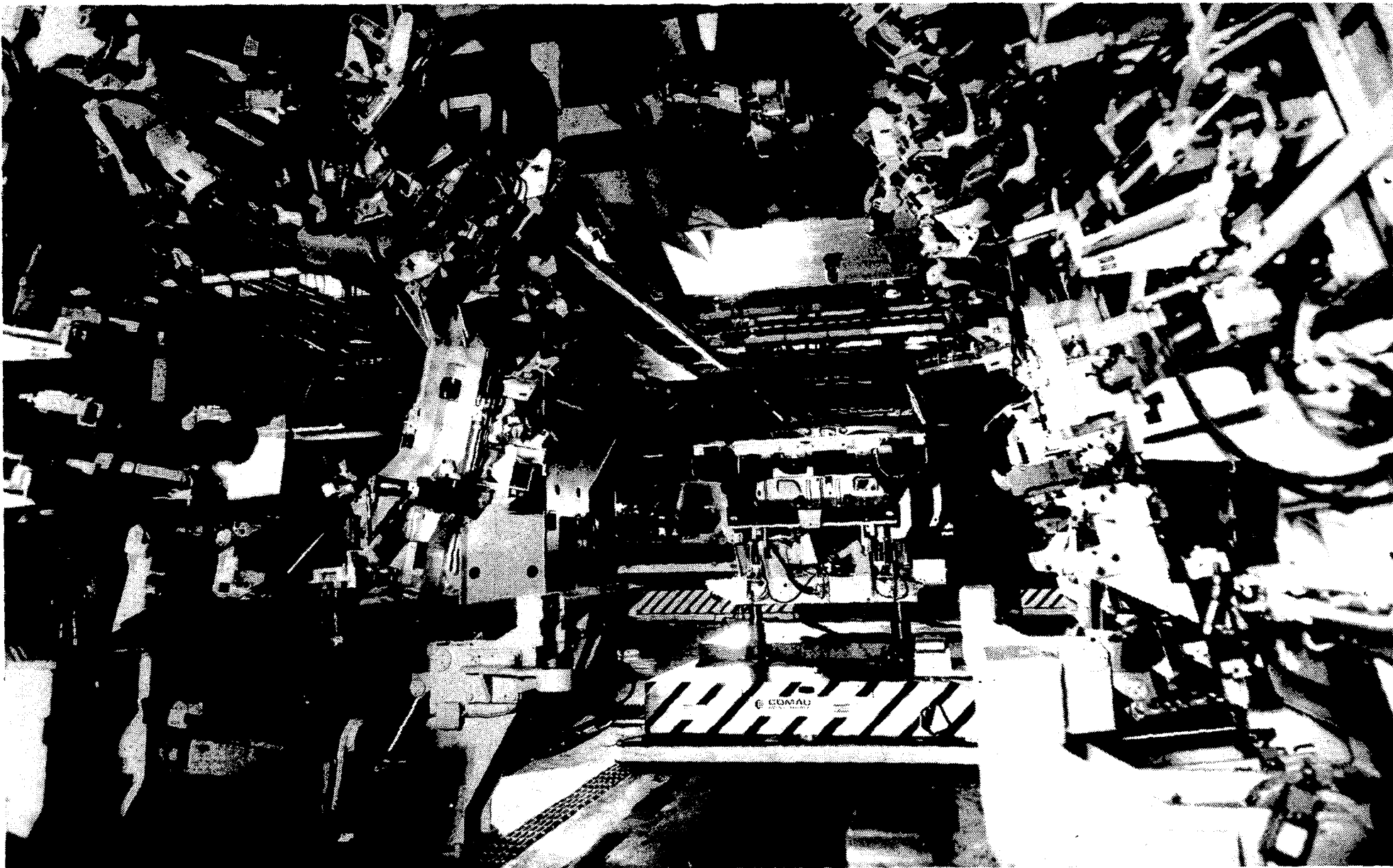
For years, the extraordinary creativity of the Italian labor movement has kept that momentum alive. Italian unions today are uniquely democratic, and uniquely concerned with a broad range of social and political issues.

"It is *this* union, the Factory Council union born in the great struggles of 1968, that Agnelli is trying to destroy," labor people say in Turin.

Agnelli's reign.

Gianni Agnelli took over the chairmanship in 1966 of the company his grandfather founded in 1899. The 58-year-old ex-playboy lawyer is easily Europe's most attractive exponent of forward-looking capitalism.

Agnelli helps plan the future of the world at Bilderberg or Trilateral Commission meetings. In 1976, he lured a large chunk of Libyan oil money into FIAT's multi-billion dollar Swiss-based holding company, which controls 600



FIAT is replacing the assembly line with modular production units—some of them fully automated. Here the "robogate," unmanned welding machines, take instructions from an unmanned computer.

companies worldwide. Operations abroad include the Togliattigrad factory in the Soviet Union as well as assembly plants in Poland and Yugoslavia. Agnelli has said he likes dealing with Communist heads of state, who are "used to discipline." Though he stays above politics, it often seems he would not be against cooperation—German Social Democrat style—with the Italian Communist Party if only the PCI could bring Italy's rambunctious working class into line.

Sometimes Agnelli says the unions are too strong, sometimes he wishes they were stronger. Behind this apparent contradiction is a consistent desire for another kind of union, weaker at the bottom but stronger at the top.

FIAT fires people all the time, of course. But the timing and method of the Oct. 9 dismissals were designed to make an impression. Instead of informing each employee of the specific reason for dismissal—as required by Italian labor law—FIAT sent all 61 workers identical letters reproaching them with failing to live up to "principles of diligence, propriety and good faith" on the job, and of behaving contrary to "principles of civil cohabitation at the work place."

As for the timing, one FIAT executive had been kidnapped only five days earlier, a fortnight after another had been assassinated. In five years, terrorists have murdered three FIAT executives and badly injured 17 others. Fifty-eight other executives or section chiefs have been "warned" by having their cars burned. As people in Turin tell it, more than one worker has ended a quarrel with his boss by warning him to "watch out for your legs."

FIAT officials acknowledged that the people it fired were almost surely not terrorists or even terrorist sympathizers, but claimed they "wouldn't take orders" and "didn't want to work." Agnelli himself declared that disruptive behavior had made FIAT factories "ungovernable," that foremen were totally demoralized and that "the whole structure was about to collapse" when he took this measure to restore order.

Public opinion was prepared to sympathize with Agnelli not only because of terrorist attacks, but also because of the lengthy labor strife earlier this year that spilled out of the FIAT factories and into the streets of Turin.

In July, prior to the signing of the national metalworkers contract, groups of workers set up roadblocks snarling traffic throughout Turin. This sort of behavior has strained solidarity. The union obviously lost control of a self-appointed vanguard that did not hesitate to leave the majority far behind. Italian workers strike at their own expense.

It was widely rumored in Turin that FIAT had photographs of the 61 agitating during the July disturbances.

Local PCI people say that most workers fed up with such aggressive action welcomed the dismissals as a natural and necessary move to restore order. This, they say, is why only 20 percent went along with the three-hour protest strike called by the FLM after the firings. Everyone agreed that the failure of that strike marked a victory for Agnelli.

At a local FLM office outside the 50,000-worker Mirafiori plant, three of the fired workers stress that all of the 61, despite other differences, have one thing in common: All have been outspokenly opposed to the so-called "EUR line," adopted jointly by CGIL-CISL-UIL leaders after a 1977 meeting in Rome's EUR convention hall. This "reasonable" policy of helping Italian industry through the world economic crisis by holding down inflationary economic demands scandalized much of the rank and file.

Dismissed workers Enzo Calazza, 25, Ines Arciuolo, 32, and Angelo Caforio, 24, seem to have the full backing of the FLM local. Calazza is a member of Democrazia Proletaria and Caforio belongs to the Fourth International. Perhaps because he represents a particularly moderate and unthreatening component of the far left, Caforio has been picked to speak at FLM rallies on behalf of the fired 61, thus becoming perhaps the first visible Trotskyist in Italian labor history. Caforio's attack on the unions' new economic policy got an overwhelming ovation from the Turin rally that

The FIAT firings broke the law—but the law can be changed. If the unions are weak, the gains of a decade may be rolled back by new legislation.



Dismissed FIAT workers Caforio, Arciuolo, and Calazza.

booed and hissed CGIL chief and "EUR line" champion Luciano Lama.

But the FLM at FIAT is obviously caught in a bind between the single-policy national leadership and a democratic rank and file. As elected shop delegates, Calazza and Caforio have been part of the active minority that keeps any democratic system from dying a natural death.

For that reason, Caforio said, plans were afoot within the union to change the structure of the Factory Council and reduce its power. Instead of having each group of about 60 workers elect its own delegate, the idea would be to reduce the total number of delegates and have them elected by lists, which in practice would give control to the major political parties and eliminate the minorities that are well represented by the present system.

The same day FIAT fired the 61, the company moved to reassert control over hiring practices.

The union-controlled employment office is one of the Italian labor movement's many original achievements. In many cities it doesn't work very well, but the one in Turin is a model of fairness, union people agree. The office lists job-seekers according to factors of need such as length of time out of work and number of dependents. Employers can hire skilled workers and technical personnel individually, but for unskilled labor they are supposed to take the people the office sends them—if the applicants pass their physical examination and a trial period on the job. One purpose of hiring "by number" rather than "by name" is to prevent political discrimination. At one time, a worker needed a letter of recommendation from his parish priest to get hired by FIAT.

Between late 1977 and early 1979, FIAT took on 10,000 new workers after four years of no hiring. Everyone agrees that this big injection of a younger generation changed the atmosphere in the plants. The better-educated young workers tend to resent being bossed around by the *capo*—the foreman or section chief—usually a former worker who has risen from the ranks of an earlier, less educated generation.

To some old militants, "capo-baiting" seems a sad degeneration of the class struggle. Lama braved hoots and hollers at the Turin rally to make the obviously unpopular point that "capi are also exploited workers."

Roots of the crisis.

"Italian worker culture is in deep crisis," says Marco Revelli, a sociologist who has closely studied the composition of the new working class at FIAT. Revelli says working-class consciousness is being disintegrated by the changed organization of work and by the workers' own culture and relation to society. In FIAT's "post-Tayloristic" computerized factory, "workers can no longer see and measure their own productivity."

Technological advance has been used to fight off worker control. The organization of assembly line labor developed by American engineer F.W. Taylor dehumanized work by reducing it to repetitious gestures, but assembly line workers could at least count the number of cars that went by and stop all production by refusing to work. FIAT still has assembly lines, but it also developed "module" production units, where a team of workers puts together one car at a time, organizing the work as they like. FIAT factory guides explain that this gives the workers more job satisfaction. It also makes it impossible for a small number of strikers to block production, as on the assembly line.

So far, automation at FIAT has not brought extensive layoffs. The company even insists that the automated presses at the Mirafiori plant employ as many people as before for much lighter tasks. It is obvious that Robogate does away with jobs, but so far FIAT has kept employment levels fairly steady and avoided alarming the unions, while strengthening its hand with the new technology.

Absenteeism has grown by leaps and bounds. And it takes forms that alarm labor militants as much as management. Specifically, the late '70s have seen a sharp increase in the rate of sick leave on days when strikes are called. This ruse enables employees to avoid either being docked for pay during strike time or being considered scabs by their more militant colleagues.

Revelli offers a sociological explanation for this breakdown of solidarity. The workers of the '60s came mostly from the south, leaving behind both families and the strong community ties of a still basically rural world. In Turin, they found jobs, but no human warmth. Perhaps they hated the factory, but it was the center of a new socialization, the place where they could develop a sense of community and an understanding of the world. Ten years ago, job attendance was at its peak during periods of labor strife, showing intense involvement.

While the struggles of the southern immigrant workers of the '60s had peasant roots, Revelli argues, the violence of the new proletariat is "purely urban"—dispersed, spectacular, meant to cause a sensation rather than change society. The last contract battles were pure theater," he says.

FIAT understands the old cycle of struggle is in crisis, and with it, the role of the Factory Council. The '60s generation, the new youth culture, and union power co-exist in the factories, with many tensions and misunderstandings. "FIAT has struck now to drive them apart," says Revelli, who fears the move will succeed.

When the 61 were fired, the FLM had to object to such an obvious flouting of labor law. But union and PCI leaders were afraid of being drawn into defending irresponsible conduct. The FLM

drew up a statement that the fired workers were obliged to sign in order to benefit from the union's legal defense. The statement included an "unqualified condemnation not only of terrorism but also of any use of violent abuse and intimidation," as outside the union's own "values, convictions, or heritage of struggle."

Most of the 61 signed, although many said they did so under pressure. Everyone agreed with the condemnation of terrorism. But the rest of the statement sounded to some people as if the union were following FIAT's lead in establishing more or less abstract principles to divide "good" from "bad" workers. Over a dozen refused to sign, claiming the union's "values" were "none other than acceptance and co-management of capitalist restructuring processes, the policy of sacrifices for workers and proletarians, the campaign attacking and criminalizing all forms of opposition and autonomous organization."

The next round.

The Turin labor court ruled on Nov. 8 that the dismissals were invalid and ordered FIAT to reinstate the whole lot. FIAT hired and then re-fired them, this time with individual letters more specific than the first, but still vague enough to ensure further controversy.

FIAT lost a round, not to the labor movement—which proved weak and divided—but to a labor court that stuck to the law. Those laws can be changed by parliament; if the labor movement is disintegrating, the gains of a decade could be rolled back by new legislation. This seems all the more likely in that the major political parties, and notably the PCI, seemed quite ready to sympathize with FIAT's efforts to make its factories "governable."

There is more and more talk in Italy of "institutional changes," even of revising the constitution, a taboo subject only a short while ago, especially for the left. The Italian post-war constitution is extremely democratic, and any revision would surely be in a conservative direction, such as strengthening the presidency and eliminating small parties from parliament. "Governability" has been replacing social justice as the theme of reforms such as the recent proposal by some Christian Democratic and Social Democratic members of parliament to limit public service employees' right to strike.

Agnelli said that if FIAT's effort to restore order were defeated, that would mean it was "no longer possible to work in Italy." The implicit threat is that FIAT would take its investments—and jobs—elsewhere.

Italian labor militants feel isolated internally. Labor movements in most other European countries are weaker to start with and have been suffering setbacks. Britain serves as a sort of horrible example. Italians were shocked last month when British Leyland workers voted 80 percent, as some newspapers headlined it, "to fire the other 20 percent." FLM spokesmen blamed the British unions for years of irresponsible corporatism and failure to develop any positive industrial policy of their own.

But are the Italian unions doing any better? In assemblies, the most revolutionary speeches still get the most applause. But the absenteeism during strike times is one sign, among others, of a growing hypocrisy among workers. One source of this hypocrisy may be the fact that many workers are holding undeclared second jobs in the "submerged economy" outside union regulations, government standards and tax collection.

In a long article that appeared in *Rinascita*, the day the labor court gave its ruling, PCI elder statesman Giorgio Amendola thundered from his retirement that the current confusion was all the fault of the unions for not obliging the workers to face hard facts—wages can't keep rising unless productivity goes up too. He said the truth was that wages of regularly employed workers had risen faster than the cost of living and that most of the country had achieved full employment. It was high time for the union to stop asking for "everything and its opposite" and instead get in there and combat absenteeism, violence and terrorism.

Continued on page 12.



Steve Kagan

ANOTHER NATION UNDER GOD



Evangelical religion is now much more than a movement. It's TV and radio stations, schools, Christian shopping malls and night clubs. And believers number 45 million souls in the U.S. alone.



Jim Bakker emcees the PTL (Praise the Lord) show.

By Jeremy Rifkin
with Ted Howard

THERE IS A STORM BREWING IN American Christianity today that might well alter the course of the nation's future. Already it has created what many observers believe is the single most important "alternative" cultural force in American life.

The eye of this storm is the Christian evangelical movement, which today claims some 45 million members in the United States.

Who are they? The rapid growth of the evangelical movement has spilled it over all economic, geographic and racial boundaries, and throughout Protestant and Catholic Christianity. To a great extent, evangelical America is the silent majority that Nixon and Agnew spoke to and for during the late '60s and early '70s. Now with liberal philosophy in shambles, with the economy on the skids and with a self-proclaimed evangelical in the Oval Office, this silent majority is beginning to find its own voice. And that voice is beginning to find a larger and more attentive audience as America prepares to take its first steps into the 1980s.

For the first time major TV and radio networks and their commercial sponsors are being challenged by a powerful new communications force. Today 1300 radio stations, one out of every seven in America, is Christian-owned and operated.

Together these stations broadcast to 150 million people. Christian broadcasters are adding one new owned-and-operated TV station to their arsenal every 30 days and presently claim a viewing audience of 13 million households, or nearly 20 percent of the entire U.S. viewing public.

Praise the Lord.

With earth satellite stations across the world, two Christian TV networks are already beaming live broadcasts to every major market 24 hours a day. And all of that is just for openers, boasts Jim Bakker, head of the PTL television network. PTL stands for both "People That Love" and "Praise The Lord." From its broadcast center in Charlotte, N.C., a staff of over 550 employees uses nearly \$2 million worth of the most advanced TV equipment available to prepare a range of daily programming. The half million PTL members contribute \$25 million annually keep the whole operation afloat.

"We have begun a broadcast that will not stop 'til Jesus comes," says Bakker.

The network was started just four years ago. Now with 179 TV affiliates (ABC has 204), PTL is the fourth largest purchaser of air time in the U.S. Recently the PTL network also installed its first fully operated satellite hookup for live coverage to every continent. As a result, its anchor program, "The PTL Club," has become, by its own boast, "the most viewed daily television program in the world."

A rival, the Christian Broadcast Net-

work, with headquarters in Virginia Beach, Va., is headed by its founder, Pat Robertson. Like the PTL Club, CBN has its own anchor program called the 700 Club. CBN has also installed worldwide satellite communications, boasts a staff of 700 and brings in its \$22 million operating budget in contributions from 500,000 members around the country.

Both PTL and CBN's 700 Club have pioneered the concept of "two-way television." During the show viewers are urged to call in and discuss their personal and spiritual problems with some of the 7,000 trained volunteers staffing some 60 regional telephone centers that both networks have strategically placed across the country.

Spiritual healing plays a major role in both broadcast ministries. Says Robertson, "We get about 25,000 reports a year from people who are healed. All we can say is that if they are all wrong, there are an awful lot of Hars out there."

Both PTL and CBN are now expanding their repertoires to include sports coverage, sit-coms, variety shows and soap operas. And CBN says it will soon inaugurate a fourth network news show to compete with Cronkite, Chancellor and Reynolds.

To insure that there will be a steady supply of well-trained Christian reporters, technicians and programming experts available for these enterprises, both CBN and PTL have just completed multi-million dollar communications schools. They are being flooded with applications from every state. The philosophy of both networks is summed up by Bakker: "I believe that Christian television will be the tool that ushers in the triumphant return of Jesus Christ."

The PTL and CBN networks have by no means cornered the Christian TV market. Others like Jerry Falwell, Oral Roberts, Billy Graham, Rex Humbard and Robert Schuller each oversee massive multi-million dollar TV and radio operations. Even local churches are actively involved in a crusade to capture local TV cable outlets.

Nor have they been daunted by charges before the FCC that evangelicals were taking to the airwaves with a one-sided religious viewpoint that is "narrow, prejudiced, blind and stuffy." Responding that the devil already "has quite a few stations" in his camp, leaders of the crusade encourage believers "not to surrender the airwaves to Satan."

Advertising.

The evangelicals do not forswear the techniques of Madison Avenue. On the contrary. As advertising consultant Bob Bloom has observed, "We are trying to sell a product and that product is Jesus Christ."

A consortium of major American business leaders, led by Nelson Hunt, of the Hunt Oil Company fortune, and Wallace Johnson, founder of Holiday Inn, has joined with Bill Bright of Campus Crusade for Christ in announcing a \$1 billion mass-media advertising campaign to evangelize every man, woman and child on earth at least once in preparation for the millennium.

The first \$100 million is already in hand. This campaign will mark the largest single budget ever amassed for electronic (and print) advertising, thus dramatically eclipsing anything done previously by any of the major corporate advertisers.

In addition to challenging the secular broadcast media, the new evangelical communications phenomenon is also taking on the commercial publishing industry.

A few years ago not many editors or publishers now would even have recognized imprints like Moody, Revell Zondervan, Berdman, Word and Logos International. Today these publishing houses are threatening to match, dollar for dollar, the sales figures of some of the mainline publishing houses.

The Christian book publishing market has grown every single year since 1969. In fiscal 1977 its 2,300 member book stores experienced a 19.3 percent increase in gross sales over the previous year.

Total religious book sales in 1976 were nearly \$1 billion, which amounted to

one-third of the gross sales of the entire commercial book market. Although the *New York Times* best seller list has long refused to acknowledge the Christian book market, it is a fact that the number one best seller of 1976 was not Woodward and Bernstein's *The Final Days*, but Billy Graham's *Angels*. And in 1975, the top book was not *Looking for Mr. Goodbar* or *The Bermuda Triangle*, but Marabel Morgan's *The Total Woman*.

Christ on the mall.

The amazing electronic and print media outreach of the American evangelical movement, now 45 million members strong, is a principal reason for the movement's ability to sustain growth. But equally important, from the viewpoint of keeping its membership active, is the movement's inclination to turn inward not only in religious life, but in secular life as well.

The evangelical church is much more than a place of worship. It is also a social, educational and even economic community for its members.

Evangelicals now talk enthusiastically about the development of a "total church living complex." Typical of this new approach is Faith City, a Baptist church complex under construction in Tampa, Florida. When completed, Faith City will contain a senior citizens home, an orphanage, a college campus, a ranch for boys, a church and Sunday school, a bus garage, a lake and parks.

Other evangelical churches are planning to set up Christian banks, Christian cafeterias, Christian medical offices, Christian motels and even Christian beauty shops where women can get their hair curled to the glory of God.

This is all part of a new concept, the "Christian shopping center." Piggybacking off the success of commercial shopping centers, many evangelicals believe that a central church complex surrounded by a mall featuring "specialty" services can provide for the "total" needs of the evangelical Christian, and thus keep the church at the center of the believer's daily life.

And the believer's night life, too. In the past few years Christian night clubs have been popping up all over the country. Most of the clubs prohibit dancing, and none serve alcoholic beverages. Typical is the Daisy in Beverly Hills, Calif., where guests are treated to wholesome grape juice cocktails and the sound of gospel groups with names like the "Spiritual Essence." A born-again Christian can now travel to many of America's major cities and find himself a cozy Christian supper club or nite spot to unwind in.

Christian Yellow Pages.

To attract more customers, the Christian night clubs, like other Christian-owned businesses, can advertise in one of the several hundred directories in cities across the country that contain the names of businesses whose owners have signed an oath that they are born-again Christians.

In return for signing such an oath, a Christian business owner not only is "allowed" to purchase ad space in directories like the Christian Yellow Pages, but is also given what amounts to a Christian version of the Good Housekeeping Seal of Approval.

That is discrimination and "an insidious evil," say Jewish and Catholic organizations that have filed lawsuits in California. Responds W.R. Thompson, national director of the Christian Yellow Pages: "We don't feel we discriminate against anybody. We'd like everyone to be born-again Christians."

In addition to the Christian business directories there are organizations like World Vision International, which, among other things, specialize in "Christian Management Techniques." There is also a new breed of clergy entering Christian businesses as Industrial Chaplains. They are hired by some institutions to counsel (and evangelize) employees right on the shop floor.

While the men are kept busy with Christian businesses, the women also have their own evangelical associations. The Christian Women's Clubs, whose national headquarters is in Kansas City,

Mo., are mostly oriented toward the social needs and concerns of suburban middle-class housewives. Fashion shows, cooking instruction, entertainment and outside speakers are standard fare.

For women's beauty needs there are the Patricia French Christian Charm Schools and Patricia French Cosmetics, made "especially for Christian women."

Schools.

All of these programs, activities and organizations are attempting to build what evangelicals hope will be an alternative Christian community within the larger secular culture. But perhaps the most important part of that effort is the Christian school movement. In recent years, a bold new frontal attack on the American public school education system has begun to emerge, and it is as significant as the evangelical challenge to the commercial mass media.

Today, the fastest growing segment of private school enrollment is among evangelical Christians. There are now well over one million school children attending over 5,000 evangelical Christian elementary and high schools. Two new Christian schools are being established every 24 hours.

"In the past 10 years our Christian

school movement has more than tripled," says Rev. Arno Weniger, executive vice president of the American Association of Christian Schools. By and large the students come from lower middle class families whose incomes lie in the \$10,000 to \$15,000 range. Though the criticism is often voiced that Christian school growth has been motivated by racial prejudice, the associations claim that less than five percent of their schools are segregationist-oriented.

In a Christian school the Biblical view of the world and each person's role in it is the only perspective by which all subjects are taught. For example, in social studies Christian curriculum stresses that original sin is the basis of all human behavior in the physical world.

While the Christian school movement is flourishing, evangelical colleges and seminaries are also experiencing new growth. At hundreds of Christian colleges across the country, curriculum is being upgraded and facilities improved and expanded. Evangelical seminaries are turning out a new generation of informed and sophisticated theologians who, in turn, are beginning to give shape and definition to the broader revival taking place.

Continued on page 14.

"We are trying to sell a product, and that product is Jesus Christ," says one ad man. Not all evangelicals, however, are content to settle for the terms of a consumer society.



Steve Kogan

GOD

Continued from page 13.

The faculty in these schools are churning out a spate of new theological tracts and writings, much of which is just now beginning to seep down into local church congregations. Like the evangelical movement itself, the new theological perspectives are diverse. In fact one of the signs of the new vitality within evangelical higher education is the competitiveness and theological variety being exhibited. Evangelical colleges and seminaries now run the entire ideological gamut from the bedrock fundamentalist orientation of places like Bob Jones University in Greenville, S.C. and Dallas Theological Seminary to more progressively inclined schools like Fuller Seminary in Pasadena, Calif. or North Park Seminary in Chicago.

Faith and doctrine.

Changes in Christian theology and practice are now challenging accepted Christian interpretation, and the challenge is fundamental.

Millions upon millions of charismatics believe in supernatural gifts like faith healing, speaking in tongues and prophecy. The charismatics' proof of election or salvation is at direct odds with the Calvinist view. This difference sets the stage for the crumbling of the old order and the emergence of the new.

Calvin asserted that unceasing physical work was the individual's only "sign" or possible proof of election. This notion led directly to the idea of unlimited material accumulation, expansionary growth, efficiency, technique, and exploitation of physical and human resources.

The Reformation person's only way of assuring himself that he had been chosen for passage to the other world was to keep on producing in this one.

For charismatics, however, proof of

election or salvation is supernatural, not materialistic. Unlike the Reformation person, for whom proof is to be found in hard work and material accumulation, for the charismatic observable proof is to be found in special gifts, such as faith healing and speaking in tongues.

Special gifts are more powerful than any scientific technique human beings could ever invent. Consider faith healing, which is a central feature of the charismatic movement. Millions of Americans are beginning to turn to faith healing because they no longer believe that science can provide the ultimate answers. The loss of faith in science and the corporate medical establishment and the movement back to faith in supernatural truths for health cures is as fundamental as the turning away from papal authority 600 years ago.

New theology.

While the charismatics are generating a potential liberating impulse, the more mainline evangelical movement is beginning to provide a reformulation of theological doctrine essential for the creation of a new worldview.

God's very first commandment to humankind in the book of Genesis is being redefined. Its redefinition changes the entire relationship of human beings to both God and the temporal world. In the beginning, God says to Adam, "Have dominion over the fish of the sea and over the birds of the air and over every living thing that moves upon the earth."

"Dominion," which Christian theology has long used to justify people's exploitation of the natural world, is suddenly and dramatically being reinterpreted. According to the new definition, God's first instruction to the human race is to serve as steward and protector over all of his creation.

The new interpretation of Genesis begins with the idea that since God created the heavens and the earth and everything in this world, all of his creations take on importance and an intrinsic worth because they are of His making.

Since this creation of God's has a purpose and order to it, that purpose and order is to be revered just as God's creations are to be revered.

Finally, what God has created is fixed. According to the creation story, the Lord created the world and everything in it. It follows from this, argue many of the new evangelical scholars, that anything that exploits or harms God's creations is sinful and an act of rebellion against God himself. Likewise, anything that undermines the "fixed" purpose and order that God has given to the natural world is also sinful and an act of rebellion.

The Christian life, then, must be one of conserving order over chaos, wholeness over fragmentation, balance over imbalance and harmony over disharmony. God has a covenant with humanity. Men and women are to act as his stewards on earth, preserving and protecting all of God's creations.

Right wing threat.

If the Christian community fails to embrace the concept of a new covenant vision of stewardship, it is possible that

the emerging religious fervor could be taken over and ruthlessly exploited by special interests. The evangelical awakening could end up providing the cultural backdrop that a reactionary movement in the U.S. would require to maintain control over the country during a period of long range economic decline.

Respected evangelical theologian Francis Schaeffer reflecting on the United States' inability to find a solution to the problem of worsening inflation and recession cycles, concludes, "I cannot get out of my mind the uncomfortable parallel to the German's loss of confidence in the Weimar Republic just before Hitler, which was caused by unacceptable inflation. History indicates that at a certain point of economic breakdown, people cease being concerned with individual liberties and are ready to accept regimentation."

Schaeffer is pessimistic about the prospects for the United States: "I believe the majority will sustain the loss of liberties without raising their voices as long as their own lifestyles are not threatened."

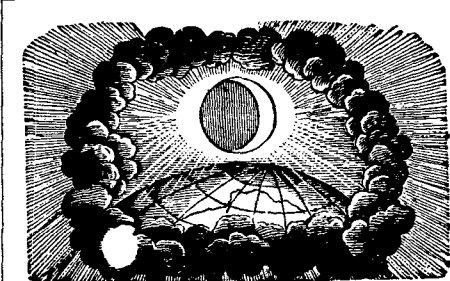
There are already many disturbing signs within the charismatic and evangelical movements pointing to just such a possibility. For example, more and more evangelicals are falling back on the old notion of the "Gospel of Wealth," equating biblical doctrine with rugged individualism and unlimited material accumulation. This kind of expansionary theology is still a dominant motif in American evangelism.

The expansionary vision of such evangelicals, like the materialist worldview of the past several hundred years, is at loggerheads with the new concept of "dominion" as stewardship and conservation. The old faith in productivity and the exploitation of nature is now being challenged by a new Christian faith in which salvation lies in conserving and protecting, not exploiting, God's creation.

This new emphasis on stewardship is providing what could be the foundation for the emergence of a second Protestant Reformation and a new covenant vision of society.

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This article was excerpted from *The Emerging Order: God in the Age of Scarcity*, by Jeremy Rifkin and Ted Howard (Putnam's, \$9.95).



THE SUN BETRAYED

BY RAY REECE

A STUDY OF THE CORPORATE SEIZURE OF U.S. SOLAR ENERGY DEVELOPMENT.

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LETTERS

IN THESE TIMES is an independent newspaper committed to democratic pluralism and to helping build a popular movement for socialism in the United States. Our pages are open to a wide range of views on the left, both socialist and non-socialist. Except for editorial statements appearing on the editorial page, opinions expressed in columns and in feature or news stories are those of the authors and are not necessarily those of the editors. We welcome comments and opinion pieces from our readers.

CARTER AND LABOR

JOHN BUDIG'S ARTICLE ON THE DEMOCRATIC AGENDA (*ITT*, Dec. 5) makes mention that the Amalgamated Clothing and Textile Workers' Union is nominally pledged to Carter's re-election.

"Nominally" should be emphasized. Although the President and Sec.-Treasurer of our Union have endorsed Carter as individuals, the organization has taken no position on this issue. Other leaders in our Union, like Senior Exec. Vice President Sol Stettin (former president, Textile Workers Union of America) are solidly supporting Kennedy.

—David J. Rathke
Local 2299, ACTWU

THE BEST SINCE

PLEASE NOTE MY THREE-YEAR SUBSCRIPTION renewal. I began subscribing four months ago with a six-month trial subscription, and I have been very impressed with your newspaper. Really, it's the best thing I've read since I read *The Appeal to Reason* on microfilm!

—Arlyn Miller
New Haven, Conn.

PHILADELPHIA

THE RIZZO YEARS ARE OVER IN PHILADELPHIA. With them, I hope, have passed into history police terror, politically manipulated racial tension, corruption and all the other Rizzo hallmarks under which we have suffered here for 8 years. The city will have a different atmosphere and sense of direction as a result of Rizzo's defeat, if only for the absence of his foul and demagogic racism.

But it's a serious mistake to think that the new mayor, Bill Green, offers as benign an alternative as Greg Moyer implies (*ITT*, Nov. 21). Green may very well remove the grosser injustices of the Rizzo administration, but it isn't clear that he will create a more tolerable administration in other respects. It is likely that Green's reign will be more oppressive than Rizzo's to Philadelphia's poor.

His program for the city's economic development isn't too different from Rizzo's—it is only clothed in more visionary rhetoric (of which we heard too much). And where Green's program is different it will be more efficient, less corrupt and more effective at doing what it is supposed to do—something not so pleasant for those of us who these policies adversely affect. Green's vision of a unified, productive, unique city is the shell around a program to encourage gentrification, to displace poor residents from their communities and keep trying to attract a large core of middle and upper income jobs for people from outside the city (the "urban pioneers" who push black, Puerto Rican and poor white residents out). This is what revitalization dreams are made of.

Moyer also missed the most outstanding feature of Lucien Blackwell's campaign—that it grew out of strong, popular though amorphous black political organization defiant of dictates and sellouts by Philadelphia's traditional black Democratic leadership. I am surprised that *ITT*, which is concerned

with developing a third-party movement in the U.S., should miss Philadelphia's Black Political Convention, the kind of organization out of which a national third party must grow.

The Black Political Convention nominated Blackwell because none of the other candidates satisfied them as an alternative to Rizzo. Blackwell's was not in fact a "continuation of Bowser's fight" (which was political in the worst sense of the word) but another fight altogether. The convention's struggle was for political participation without the intermediating (and interfering) backroom deals and power brokerage (exchange of goods) in which old line black politicians have been schooled. The campaign's success was not only in getting 100,000 votes on a \$30,000 budget, but was also in creating a political current in the city out of which real alternatives may develop.

—Andrew Feffer
Philadelphia

AN AFFRONT

SO BILL GREEN IS PRINCE CHARMING saving us here in Philly from the dark days of Rizzo's Reich. You could have fooled me. I thought he was an arrogant white liberal who capitalized on the impressive strength and momentum marshalled a year ago by a progressive coalition to stop Rizzo from gaining third term eligibility. For the first time in Philadelphia's history, a progressive and black candidate might have become mayor—but for the opportunism and double-dealing of this Kennedy sycophant.

While Greg Moyer's article on our municipal election (*ITT*, Nov. 21) was factually accurate, it was an affront to those who labored mightily to push Rizzo out of public life. Moyer failed to mention that Green secured the support of the bulk of Rizzo's allies. They rallied behind him both with dollars and endorsements. How then is the election a mandate for change? Undoubtedly, Green will divert public monies from police gadgetry to housing. The important question is—housing where, and for whom?

A measure of Green's black support is the fact that he could not secure the endorsement of the broad-based Black Political Convention in July or even prevent it from endorsing another candidate (Lucien Blackwell). Failing in this, he made a great show of refusing to sign a statement supporting specific black political objectives, suggesting that it would compromise his integrity (a contradiction in terms). Sure, ward leaders were able to pull a lot of votes out of black wards for Green, but so did they for Rizzo in 1975. This is more a measure of their support than Green's.

Moyer's treatment of Blackwell was shameful. Quoting Nora Danielson (the SWP candidate) on Blackwell without comment was inexcusable. If Blackwell was "campaigning for a partnership with big business," why then did he only receive one-fiftieth the campaign contributions that Green did? Why then did he propose that any new taxes needed be collected from corporate coffers (particularly from the oil companies, who make heavy use of our port)?

—Al Zielenski
member of COMMUNITY newspaper staff,
Philadelphia

SMOT

IT READERS SHOULD BE AWARE THAT the League for Industrial Democracy has launched a project to raise funds for the Free Interprofessional Association of Workers (SMOT) whose struggle was described by Robert Howard in your November 14 issue. Those interested in contributing to SMOT should send donations to the LID Free Trade Union Fund, 275 Seventh Avenue, New York, N.Y. 10001.

—Arch Puddington
New York

AND FOR THE WORKERS...

DAVID MOBERG'S ARTICLE ON THE UAW-Chrysler settlement (*ITT*, Nov. 7) speaks of "worker control" in a way that no worker could accept or even recognize. The nomination of UAW President Doug Frazer to Chrysler's Board of Directors, far from instituting "workers' control," will mean less, not more, control over their lives for Chrysler workers. Moreover, it is the most blatant sell-out deal in labor history: Frazer literally bought his seat on the Chrysler Board with \$203 million of workers' money as a down payment. To keep that seat, he will have to deliver three years of worker docility.

To the Chrysler worker on the line, worker control means rank-and-file control over working conditions: safety, speedup, seniority, the right to protest and settle grievances. For years, the UAW has allowed these conditions to worsen to the point where today the accident rate has reached an all-time high and one worker is forced to do the work that two did a decade ago. The UAW bureaucracy has consistently sided with management on these issues, thus provoking endless "illegal" strikes (wildcats) and rebellions within the union (like the Dodge Revolutionary Movement in Chrysler ten years back.) Often it is management itself that calls in the UAW to discipline the unruly ranks and smash these worker efforts to control a system of production that is destroying their health and lives.

Older Chrysler workers (like Charles Denby, whose eloquent autobiography, *Indignant Heart: A Black Workers' Journal* was praised in these pages last May) have lived to see the UAW transformed from the instrument of workers' struggle it was in the '30s to an instrument of domination over the worker. Many younger workers see no difference between the UAW and management. The elevation (at workers' expense) of Frazer to Chrysler's Board simply confirms this view.

From being a mere "labor lieutenant of the bourgeoisie," Frazer has now been promoted to the general staff. Why? Because in the present capitalist crisis (of which Chrysler's insolvency is one symptom) the profit hungry ruling class need powerful allies in its offensive against workers' living standards and conditions of labor. The union bureaucracy has long aspired to join the ranks of the ruling class. It will then redouble its efforts at proving itself "statesmanlike" and "reasonable" by tightening its stranglehold over the rank-and-file and suppressing all efforts to establish any real worker control in production.

For a newspaper calling itself "socialist" to endorse such a power-grab and baptise it in the name of workers' control is appalling.

—Richard Greeman
Durham, Ct.

David Moberg replies:

Nowhere in my article do I suggest that the board seat for Frazer constitutes "worker control." In my brief review of co-determination in Europe and in other comments, I made it clear that in itself such a move is unlikely to promote real changes in the workplace

or greater worker democracy. So much for Greeman's reading.

Despite those limitations, union representation on boards of directors can be an asset to unions in vigorously advancing worker interests. (It has been possible, on the other hand, to get some labor leaders to be advocates of capitalist interests without offering directorships.) Those who demand that the union offer support, not suppression, to rank-and-file militancy should demand as well that the union use any forum open to it—including boards of directors—to be strong worker advocates.

IF A, THEN Z

I WAS SHOCKED AT YOUR SNEERING REPLY to the letter of Bill Fishman (is-Nov 14) in which he comments on your lack of coverage of the Communist Party convention.

If your touchstone for reportage is the fact that more people are interested in the Pope than in the Communist Party, then you might as well stop publishing *ITT*. There are certainly more people interested in the Pope than in the left movement in this country.

We have looked to *ITT* for coverage of the left that isn't available elsewhere. But if you are going to omit consideration of the Communist Party as an important factor of the left, you are making a serious mistake. You are joining a conspiracy of silence that we get in our daily establishment paper.

And if *ITT* is going to be an anti-communist paper, as the tone of your editorial reply implies, then we will have to suspect the source of some of your revenue and what use is made of your subscriber lists.

—Name withheld upon request
Gary, Ind.

RUDE AWAKENING

YOUR ORIGINAL DECISION NOT TO cover the convention of the Communist Party was a poor one, but your response to criticism was contemptuous. Now a second response stakes out the position that you think *ITT* readers would rather read about the Pope. Well, this is one *ITT* subscriber who has read all she cares to about the Pope in the conventional press.

If papers like *ITT* do not cover the activities of the largest radical political party in the U.S. (whether you like them or not), then we are left to read about it in the *Daily World* or perhaps the *Vatican Observer*. If this is your idea of an independent socialist perspective you are in for a rude awakening at resubscription time.

—Judy Janda
Brooklyn, NY

Editor's note:

In These Times was created in the belief that there is a greater potential for a popular movement for socialism in the U.S. than ever before, but that the traditional socialist left is more fragmented, isolated and irrelevant than at any time since the 1890s. We believe that the Communist Party and its myriad successors do not have the capacity to contribute to the re-emergence of a major left movement. This makes us non-communist, not anti-communist. It is a political estimate, not a cold war stance. We cover activities of these parties and groups when they are newsworthy. We do not generally cover their internal activities.

CORRECTION:

Thom Thacker was co-author of the article on plywood strikers in Olympia, Wash., that appeared in the Dec. 5 issue of *ITT*.

A new defense strategy that could really reduce the level of armaments

THE PRICE OF DEFENSE, A NEW STRATEGY FOR MILITARY SPENDING

By The Boston Study Group
NY Times Books, 1979, \$15.

By William Burr

This book contains much uncommon sense about a subject that 'experts' are fiercely debating without giving us 'non-experts' any meaningful part. The Study Group's impressive presentation of American military strategy and the technology and budgets that support it makes matters much less complex than they usually appear. Socialists interested in politically feasible changes of immediate benefit to working people will welcome both the broad thrust and the specifics of the Study Group's recommendations.

The authors (a group of scientists and students of military policy) propose a 'new' strategic doctrine focusses on defense and involving a 'substantial retrenchment' in U.S. strategic and tactical military posture. Proposed reductions in the defense budget would yield immediate political dividends: greater resources for civilian use and employment, an executive branch of much less freedom to undertake overseas adventures and a real basis for containment, and the ultimate extension, of the arms race.

The much touted Soviet planting of medium range SS-20 missiles within reach of London or Paris does not change the Study Group's basic political premise, based on abundant evidence, that the U.S. is the only truly global military power. Only the American government can project air and naval power and combat troops into the most distant parts of the globe. The heart of this uniquely offensive capacity is in the vast array of force—the regular Army, Navy and tactical Air Force—that comprises Washington's "general purpose forces." These forces enable the White House to play policeman of the world and guardian of investments in the Third World.

The USSR has a weighty military posture, but in general it is second in its capacity to project power. The Soviet Navy has a defensive orientation and the Red Army lacks the outsized cargo aircraft needed to deploy troops at far distances.

The Study Group's analysis indicates that there is a slight tilt in the nuclear balance in favor of the U.S. Soviet strategic bombers do not measure up to the American and Russian missile bearing submarines do not spend as much time at sea as American ones. Furthermore, the U.S. and NATO have the lead in tactical nuclear warheads in Europe. Of course, as the authors point out, these

disparities are irrelevant. The point of nuclear weapons can only be one of deterrence. Neither great power has means to defend its population against incoming missiles.

The U.S., as the preeminent military power and chief contributor to the arms race, has the most responsibility to undertake substantial force reductions. By lowering the level of international insecurity, American unilateral action would encourage reciprocal action by the Soviet Union and lesser military powers. This approach recommended by the Study Group has an historical basis: In the preface, William Fulbright discusses the pre-Vietnam stance of the Kennedy-Johnson administrations involving relatively successful, if short-lived, "mutual example" troop withdrawals from Europe. Premier Brezhnev's recent announcement of unilateral reductions of Russian troop and tank strength in Eastern Europe indicates that a major move by the U.S. would get a favorable response from Moscow.

The authors propose that the U.S. eliminate: 1) the "general purposes" half of the military establishment, 2) investment in new weapons development and 3) the excess of nuclear weapons that serve no deterrent purpose (and currently give the U.S. a de-stabilizing first strike of 'counter-force' capacity). In practical terms, this program could stretch out over a five to 10 year period and involve a \$47 billion (or 30 percent) reduction in the \$120 billion 'defense' budget for fiscal year 1978-1979.

The elimination of the general purpose force would tie the hands of the executive branch (and the corporate power it represents) to a significant degree. Under the Study Group's proposals the U.S. would retain military forces of considerable strength in Europe and East Asia (Japan). These forces would remain "capable of misuse" but such misuse could not be "sudden, inadvertent or go publicly unnoticed." Efforts to intervene in the Third World would therefore be subject to public scrutiny and Congressional action.

The authors suggest the elimination of the entire obsolete strategic bomber force and most of the land-based missile system. In their view, the retention of 100 missile silos and 31 of the present 41 nuclear submarines with 496 missiles bearing one warhead each would provide adequate and secure deterrence. The abolition of American counter-force capacity designed for possible first strike use would inhibit "adventurous behavior" by making it almost impossible for the White House to blackmail the USSR as a way to gain political advantage in the heat of a crisis.

The proposals regarding Europe are significant because it is the most heavily armed continent and the starting point of the Cold War. The authors recommend that the U.S. withdraw 20 percent (40,000) of its troops, leaving a balance of 160,000 in Western Europe. They also propose an immediate reduction of tactical nuclear weapons in the NATO coun-

tries from the present 7,000 to 1,000. Their premise is that these reductions would give impetus to the Mutual and Balanced Force Reduction Talks in Vienna, which have been stalled for several years.

Though it is believed an attack on Western Europe by the Warsaw Pact is improbable, the Study Group supports retention of NATO, and continued U.S. military presence in Europe. In their view, total American disengagement would result in compensating rearmament by West Germany and thus greater insecurity. The authors argue that the unilateral American reductions would ease tensions by permitting a Soviet cutback in its European forces that could be followed by Western European force reductions.

It is possible that a greater retrenchment of the U.S. military presence in Europe may be desirable and consistent with the Study Group's defensive policy orientation. To the extent that American policymakers in the early Cold War years postulated a Soviet attack on Western Europe, they generally saw it in terms of a response to the American program to re-arm Europe, which American leaders knew was increasing Russian insecurity.

An investigation into the origins of NATO, European re-armament and U.S. troop commitments indicates that initial American objectives included: 1) preventing autonomous German re-armament, 2) suppressing revolution, 3) giving confidence to European ruling classes and 4) dampening neutralist sentiment.

The first concern is now largely irrelevant given the German Social Democrats singleminded policy of pursuing detente and eschewing a German finger on the nuclear trigger. Thus, the mission of American forces in Europe appears roughly analogous to that of the 'general purpose forces,' that is, to prevent undesirable political change.

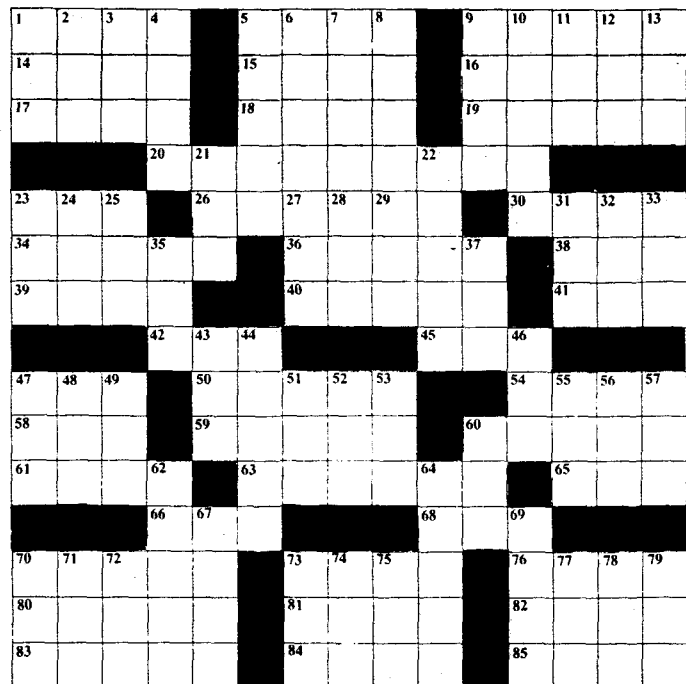
The Study Group proposes a program of reconversion to ease the transition to productive employment of the three million employees of the military establishment their proposals would immediately effect. If undertaken gradually, force reductions would pose no basic problem as budget cuts of the magnitude suggested could add one and a half million net additional jobs (BLS studies show that military expenditures tend to decrease employment compared to equal levels of civilian spending on goods and services). Furthermore, this program would reduce inflation. Military spending creates purchasing power that competes for the goods and services produced without producing any.

The Price of Defense deserves wide discussion on the left. Its analysis and recommendations could be pared down into pamphlet form (or a series of pamphlets) for distribution among trade unionists and activists in other social movements.

William Burr, a graduate student in history at Northern Illinois University, is writing his dissertation on U.S. policy toward European reconstruction after World War II.

Political Geography

By David Mermelstein



ACROSS

- 1 Balkan state head
- 5 Communist country
- 9 Exporter of cars and TV's
- 14 Communist country: Abbr.
- 15 Communist country
- 16 Join together
- 17 Mulberry or apple
- 18 Periods
- 19 Former Fr. colony
- 20 R.R. depot
- 22 Chip on 7, in A.C.
- 23 _____ Jima
- 26 Headed by Neto
- 30 _____ League: 59 Across et al.
- 34 Tess
- 36 Berlinguer country
- 38 Nigerian
- 39 Prophet
- 40 Elegance
- 41 South of U.S.
- 42 Female sheep
- 45 Concorde: Abbr.
- 47 Country where people disappear: Abbr.
- 50 Tantric writings
- 54 _____ of Wight
- 58 Fish eggs

DOWN

- 59 Enemy of 2 Down
- 60 President of 15 Across
- 61 Poet _____ Teasdale
- 63 Communist country
- 65 Disencumber
- 66 Global time basis: Abbr.
- 68 Geological time division
- 70 Irate
- 73 One who mimics
- 76 German article
- 80 Jewish dinner
- 81 East European
- 82 Country in turmoil
- 83 Norther part is Communist
- 84 Ponder intently
- 85 Crippled

MONOGRAM

- 1 Exhibit in NYC
- 2 Country of Begin: Abbr.
- 3 "Wasteland" poet: MONOGRAM
- 4 Minerals
- 5 Unsoiled
- 6 Short-lived union of 44 Down and

- 27 Enlisted men
- 28 Baseball's Mel
- 29 _____ of the land
- 31 Edge
- 32 Beame or Lincoln
- 33 Carton
- 35 Before
- 37 The opposite of no
- 43 "As I _____ saying"
- 44 Enemy of 2 Down?
- 46 "_____ the season..."
- 47 _____ longa, vita brevis
- 48 Cuban foreign minister, Raul _____
- 49 Divided country: Abbr.
- 51 Nigerian
- 52 Armed forces: Abbr.
- 53 Auto org.
- 55 Title of a knight
- 56 Chou En _____
- 57 Finish
- 60 Fuss
- 62 Concur
- 64 Fortitude
- 67 Vidal's _____ Breckenridge
- 69 Diamond or Sadaka
- 70 Request
- 71 Prefix for colonialism
- 72 E. Ger.
- 73 Agent of Cleopatra's death
- 74 Arafat's org.
- 75 Attention
- 77 Irish org.
- 78 Part of SE Asia, colloquially
- 79 82 Across as seen from 19 Across: Abbr.

59 Across: Abbr.

- 7 Snake
- 8 Fool
- 9 Month of poem (3 Down) plus 2
- 10 Homophobe
- 11 Cop, to some
- 12 Dined
- 13 Saul's grandfather
- 21 Sailor
- 22 Game implements
- 23 ...and or buts
- 24 Very small
- 25 In debt to

The answer to the previous puzzle:



Organizational Directory

The Directory is published to facilitate contact with organizations frequently referred to in the pages of *In These Times*. Each organization has paid a fee for their listing.

COIN-CONSUMERS
OPPOSED TO INFLATION IN
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600 West Fullerton Ave.
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853 Broadway, Room 617
New York, NY 10003

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2000 P Street, N.W. Suite 200
Washington, D.C. 20036

WORKING WOMEN
1258 Euclid Avenue
Cleveland, OH 44111

BOOKS

A sourcebook gives good introduction to Soviet anti-semitism

SOVIET ANTISEMITIC PROPAGANDA

By The Institute of Jewish Affairs
Jacob's Well Mews, London.

By Norty Wheeler

"Only the most ignorant and down-trodden people can believe the lies and slander that are spread about Jews. This is a survival of ancient feudal times, when the priests burned heretics at the stake, when the peasants lived in slavery, and when the people were crushed and inarticulate. This ancient, feudal ignorance is passing away; the eyes of the people are being opened."

The writer's logic.

A longer version of this statement serves as the preface to *Soviet Antisemitic Propaganda*. The rest of the book suggests, though, that this feudal ignorance has not entirely passed away.

To many of us, this is no surprise. We have observed cases of Soviet anti-semitism for years; we have learned that socializing the means of production does not automatically do away with bigotry and other social ills.

Why believe the subject with one more book? The Institute of Jewish Affairs (IJA) study has two qualities that commend it. First, it is short (105 pages) and not academic; it is suitable for classrooms or discussion groups. Second, it consists almost entirely of first-hand sources—quotations from Soviet books,

newspapers, magazines and radio broadcasts for 1975-1977; there is ample opportunity for readers to make their own judgments.

A standard Soviet defense against charges of anti-semitism is that they are anti-Zionist, but not anti-Jewish. Therefore, one thing that really struck me was the ease with which writers use the terms "Jewish" and "Zionist" interchangeably.

"In accordance with the racist 'postulates' of Zionism and Judaism the religious fanatics have been conducting for several years a campaign for the 'purity' of the Jewish race."

"In order to disinform world public opinion the Zionists and Judaists sometimes over-emphasize their pretended differences of opinion and seek to present Zionism as a purely political and entirely modern, and almost socialist, doctrine. Jewish clericalism, they say, is a living remnant, a tribute to a difficult history and past sufferings, etc. In fact, Zionism and Judaism have the same social, economic and class basis and correspondingly a common aspiration to world power."

One writer even quotes the notorious anti-semitic Henry Ford: "Gain control over the 50 Jewish financiers wealthier than I who create war for their own profit and wars will be abolished."

Even when the Soviet writers in question are "only" criticizing Zionists (but not all Jews), many of the attacks are so exaggerated that the motives are suspect. One writer uncritically repeats

an Afro-Asian News Agency statement that "Zionists control 70 percent of the periodicals in the U.S. and 80 percent of all television programs." Another claims that 158 of the 165 largest "death concerns" in the U.S. are controlled by the "pro-Zionist bourgeoisie."

The book also reprints charges that: Jews/Zionists are hardcore criminals; Zionists foment anti-semitism, in order to make Jews hate non-Jews and support Zionism; Judaism's "chosen people" doctrine made it a "prototype of European racism." And more.

As I have already noted, the format of *Soviet Antisemitic Propaganda* makes it accessible to a wide audience; and this is good. But there are also some drawbacks.

Because the Londond-based Jewish affairs organization provides only a brief introduction to its evidence, but no systematic analysis, there is a tendency to make complex issues appear simple.

Take the question of Judaism and racism. Certainly the charge that Judaism = Zionism = Racism is simplistic and false. Yet it is true that Israel supports the government of South Africa, and it is true that there is discrimination in Israel against Arabs and against Oriental and black Jews.

Several other questions are on my mind. How representative are these anti-semitic writers of Soviet party and government leaders? Of the non-Jewish population? How do official attitudes toward Jews compare to attitudes toward Moslems or Ukrainians or other minorities? How does anti-semitic propaganda correlate with actual discrimination and oppression of Jews?

We know that many Jewish dissidents have been sent to labor camps; but we also know that Jews hold a large percentage of academic and professional jobs. William Mandel, a sympathetic observer of the Soviet Union, has asked whether officials or private citizens ever shoot Soviet Jews, as frequently happens to blacks in the United States. He

might also ask whether Soviet professors have written anything as vile as Jensen and Shockley, the Americans who have resurrected Nazi theories of genetic inferiority.

A final, tricky point concerns freedom of expression. The IJA, in its introduction, cites international agreements that ban the advocacy of national, racial and religious hatred. I infer that the IJA favors banning bigoted books and articles—in the Soviet Union and elsewhere. The task becomes a bit thorny, however, when we ask, "Who defines what is racist?" On one hand, I am more comfortable with the distinction between expression and action: we should restrict the latter, but not the former. On the other hand, I am most uncomfortable with a situation in which free speech can be used to abuse Jews, but not to criticize government policy.

I am not raising these questions in order to discredit the book under review. I strongly recommend the book as a good starting point for a broader discussion, but not as a substitute for that discussion.

Some people will welcome *Soviet Antisemitic Propaganda* as additional ammunition for their cold war arsenal. Others will dismiss it as slander, on the same grounds. Another reading is possible, though, and the preface by Lenin suggests one. It suggests that—like the nation that declared to the world that all men are created equal and endowed with certain inalienable rights—the Soviet Union has yet to fully realize the ideals of its founders.

Further reading: E.L. Solman, "Protocols of the Anti-Zionists," *Soviet Jewish Affairs*, July-December, 1978. This is a samizdat account of debate within the USSR Academy of Sciences.

Hillel Schenker, "The Mission to Moscow," *New Outlook*, January-February 1979. An interview with one of four official Israeli visitors to the Soviet Union.

Pro-nuke

Continued from page 6.

constant stream of new safety regulations must stop. The 12 year licensing process for a nuclear plant could be cut in half, charged Kirby, and public safety would actually be enhanced. The Westinghouse leader closed by urging the entire nuclear industry, and particularly the electric utilities, to renew their faith in nuclear power and to communicate that notion to the public.

The new mood.

Evidence of a more unified and determined industry abounded in San Francisco. One GE official marveled, "The mood at this year's conference is so much more alive and upbeat than the last couple of years. I guess we had to have a scare thrown into us before we really got off our duffs."

To date, an ad hoc TMI response committee pulled together by industry executives within days of the Harrisburg accident, has committed well over \$50 million to upgrade the safety of nuclear power plants. The newly formed Institute for Nuclear Power Operations will improve the training of nuclear plant operators, which was roundly criticized by Congress, the NRC and the Kemeny Commission. Another new group, the Nuclear Safety Analysis Center, has been established to maintain high technical standards. This commitment to improving safety underscores the industry's assumption that it would probably not survive the public relations fallout of another serious nuclear accident.

The ad hoc committee is also launching a major public information program, the Committee on Energy Awareness (CEA) because, in the words of AIE co-chair Paul Turner, "the perception of TMI is at least as important as the facts of TMI." The committee has a

\$700,000 operating budget and many electric utilities have "loaned" it top executives free of charge for periods of one to six months.

In November the committee ran two full-page ads in the *New York Times*, the *Washington Post*, the *Los Angeles Times*, and other leading national newspapers, and plans another three ads for sometime after January. Some of these will also be reprinted in *Time* and other magazines.

During the recent Jane Fonda-Tom Hayden national political tour, the CEA sponsored a "Truth Squad" that trailed the two activists to counter their arguments against nuclear power. It also supplied local utilities with camera-ready ad copy for placement in the local newspaper following a Fonda-Hayden stop.

The committee's basic pitch is that the safety system worked at TMI. Nobody was killed. And the industry is already working on making the plants safer and on nuclear's radiation and waste disposal problems. In the meantime, America must have nuclear energy to avoid economic catastrophe.

A special effort has been made to reach the business and financial community. Top utility executives spoke before Wall Street investment analysts in July and again in November, stressing the disastrous ramifications a nuclear moratorium would have on the national security and on business. Similar presentations were made in October to investment analysts in Atlanta and Hartford, and to the immensely powerful Business Roundtable, an organization composed of the chief executive officers of 192 of America's largest corporations. Says CEA director Jack Betts, "We make them realize that finding enough electricity is their problem, too."

All signs indicate a dramatic new offensive by America's nuclear power industry in the months to come. If they are not careful, nuclear opponents may be caught napping. That would be especially ironic when their battle is just now escalating to a new, and far more serious, level of confrontation.

1980's Plight or Prosperity?

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Iran

Continued from page 9.

height of the fighting, they declared their purpose to be not only the achievement of autonomy for Kurdistan but "freedom and democracy" for all of Iran. When the U.S. embassy was seized in Tehran, the Kurds agreed to cease-fire despite the fact that they were at the brink of ousting the last of Khomeini's militia from the region. The action was taken to show their solidarity with the anti-imperialist demands of the student occupation force.

The leadership of the Azerbaijani national movement stands in stark political contrast to that of the Kurds. The Azerbaijani Turks constitute approximately 25 percent of Iran's population.

But over the past 10 months, as every other minority group demanded autonomy, the Azerbaijan region was quiet, following the directions of its most respected religious leader, ayatollah Shariat Madari. The trouble only began at the height of the U.S. invasion threat.

Shariat Madari is no leftist. Last year, in the midst of the revolution, *U.S. News and World Report* described him as "more interested in encouraging the shah to move to the right than in overthrowing him." Indeed, while millions were in the streets, risking their lives for the shah's overthrow, Shariat Madari was urging the establishment of a "constitutional monarchy" headed by the shah. When Shapour Bahktiar was appointed Prime Minister as the shah left for his "vacation," Shariat Madari urged the popular movement to extend Bahktiar a "grace period" to prove his merits.

Today, the dissident ayatollah is described as a "moderate." He opposes Khomeini's autocracy and calls for a measure of democratic rights and self-rule for the national minorities.

The Fedayeen have organized demonstrations in the past week supporting Azerbaijani national rights but denouncing Shariat Madari. Many of the Fedayeen are also Azerbaijanis. By enlarging their influence there and joining in support of Azerbaijani rights, the Fedayeen

apparently hope to push the popular movement beyond the control of its reactionary leadership.

It is difficult to see how Khomeini will be able to resist demands for regional autonomy for Iran's minorities. The Baluchis, Turkomans, and Arabs, together with the Kurds and Azerbaijani Turks, make up roughly half of Iran's population. All stand ready to fight for their rights if necessary.

Beyond the issue of national rights, Khomeini faces growing pressures from workers and peasants who seek land, jobs, and at least a measure of worker control. Support for leftist organizations is growing, despite official condemnations.

Regardless of what happens to the hostages, no one is placing bets on what the future will bring for Iran. The only thing that can be said with certainty is that the revolution is far from over. ■

Kennedy

Continued from page 2.

tion I'm not really competent to discuss."

Kennedy has tried to focus his campaign on the question of presidential leadership, but with Carter's leadership suddenly in good repute, Kennedy's campaign seems to lack a *raison d'être*.

And Kennedy himself, whose passionate oratory always flowed from his liberal *noblesse oblige*—has appeared a little flat and forced in his moderate garb.

At a Dec. 6 speech in Des Moines, Val Air Ballroom, which was kicking off a series of 28 large rallies around the state, Kennedy flailed the air with rhetorical flourishes, but said little that was concrete or moving. He pegged his speech to a declaration that "this is America." "I'd like to ask you whether or not you believe we could do better because this is America, because this is America?" Kennedy asked the 3500 potential partisans, who had already braved an hour-and-a-half of dull patter while Kennedy's plane was on the way from Dubuque.

"In the early days of the republic when the founding fathers were faced

Coal

Continued from page 6.

the next negotiations. But targeting assumes a change in the "no contract, no work" clause of the constitution in order for some miners to work while Consolidated miners strike. This runs the danger of contributing to the very process it is meant to combat. "No contract, no work" remains the principle tradition that holds a much fragmented workforce together. Targeting still leaves the crucial question unanswered: how to mobilize miners to resist when resistance seems futile?

A third response seems the most likely to prevail in the near future. It too looks to the past, not to the militancy of the

with great difficulties of the war of independence, they didn't talk about malaise," Kennedy continued. "They said this is America and we can achieve independence."

Kennedy then zeroed in on the Carter administration. "There are some people in our country today in high government positions who sound the bugles of retreat. I say America does not know retreat. After all, this is America. And I say to you we can deal with the problems of inflation, remembering this is America."

Kennedy did cite national health insurance—for which he drew large applause—but said nothing about the defense budget or big business. In his recitation of the country's energy ills, he mentioned OPEC, but not the oil companies. The committed Kennedyites who were on hand read into his reference to "12 years of Republican rule" (1968-1980) a call for fundamental reform and an indictment of Carter's subservience to Paul Volcker's Federal Reserve policies and to the big oil companies, but the many Des Moines residents who came to check Kennedy out probably didn't make the same connection.

Prior to Kennedy's speech, I polled the 12 people sitting around me. Seven, including four labor supporters and a Drake University sophomore, were working for Kennedy. Five others were unde-

'40s but to the legacy of 1940s strong-willed and autocratic leadership. After the chaos of the Miller years, many miners equate democracy with weakness and long for an end to internal disruptions and a return to the business-like, tightly controlled union of the pre-Miller past. Those longings now focus on newly appointed union president Sam Church.

But none of these positions is really adequate in the face of a mounting corporate offensive symbolized by Consolidation Coal, the break-up of the BCOA, the progressive destruction of miners' benefits and control. Like most people, miners are groping to respond to the industry's future without renouncing what is meaningful and mobilizing in the past. In this, the UMW is far from alone. ■

This article was written with the assistance of the Fund for Investigative Journalism.

decided. After the speech, the labor people were happy, but the undecideds said they were "not impressed," and the Drake sophomore said she didn't know whether she would continue working for Kennedy. "I don't think he said a god-damn thing," Mary Pat Catter said. "He's got charisma and that's about it."

It would be wrong to make too much of this "straw poll," especially in relation to the Iowa caucuses. But it does indicate future problems for Kennedy as he tries to win over the undecided, uncommitted voters who will finally make the difference in the primaries.

Like Reagan finally did in his challenge to Ford, Kennedy will eventually have to turn his guns on Carter and at least suggest that he would do things not just better but differently. If he does this and if the recession blots out Iran in voters' mind, he probably will be able to best Carter for the nomination. In doing this, however, he will further divide an already divided party.

It was already apparent six months ago that Jimmy Carter could not beat a Republican presidential nominee, but it is now becoming apparent that Ted Kennedy might not be able to do so either.

Prophets of doom and lovers of long shots might want to take this chance to put their money on George Bush for president in 1980. ■

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IN DEPTH

A national movement of tenants is shaping up

By Peter Dreier

TENANT ACTIVISTS FROM ACROSS THE COUNTRY MET IN Newark, N.H., in November to map out a nationwide campaign for renters' rights. The conference setting, Independence High School in Newark's Ironbound neighborhood, is a direct legacy of community organizing efforts begun by Students for a Democratic Society (SDS) in the mid-1960s.

More than 100 participants from 50 tenant organizations in 17 states—representing groups ranging in size from the 50,000 member New Jersey Tenants Organization to the fledgling Denver Tenants Organization—reflected the groundswell of tenant activism in recent years.

Tenant activity has been triggered by rising interest rates that have put the brakes on home and apartment construction and worsened an already tight housing market. The skyrocketing cost of gasoline and changing lifestyles, have made older city neighborhoods more attractive places to live, especially for affluent young professionals. The invasion of these "gentry" has driven up apartment rents or led to the conversion of rental units to high-priced condominiums and cooperatives, pushing out many low- and moderate-income tenants in the process. Redlining by banks and "arson for profit" by landlords have led to widespread abandonment of older buildings, further depleting the rental housing stock and increasing rents. The current rental vacancy rate nationwide is slightly under five percent. In many cities, it is even lower.

Most of the groups represented at the conference, and many that could not attend, are involved in fighting for rent control or trying to strengthen existing rent control laws. Many are working to enact laws restricting condo conversions and evictions. Local tenant organizations are also engaged in battles to rewrite leases, improve enforcement of building codes, and protect tenants from

arbitrary evictions.

The conference was initiated by the editors of *Shelterforce*, a clearinghouse newsletter for housing activists. "We get calls and letters from all over the country asking our advice on everything from how to get a landlord to make repairs to how to organize a rent strike or how to write a rent control law," explained John Atlas, a *Shelterforce* founder and vice president of the New Jersey Tenants Organization, the nation's largest tenant group. "We thought it was important for local groups to learn from each other and to begin making connections."

Atlas likened the budding tenants movement to the early stages of the women's and anti-war movements.

"Tenants are just beginning to think of themselves as 'tenants,' as a group with common problems," he noted. "It's a process of first seeing the problem in terms of a specific landlord or housing court in one city, and then recognizing the link between tenant problems and the role of banks, developers, and federal government policy."

A second impetus for the conference is the growing influence of landlord and business groups organized at state and national levels to challenge tenant activism.

Urban planner Chester Hartman from San Francisco gave the conference-goers a chilling example of the organized power

of landlords. His group, San Franciscans for Affordable Housing, suffered a stunning defeat Nov. 6 when their comprehensive housing referendum (which included rent control, restrictions on condo conversion and speculation, and subsidies for moderate-income housing) lost 59-41 percent at the polls. Hartman's group, a coalition of labor, tenant, church, women's, gay, senior citizen and other groups, was outspent by approximately \$600,000 to \$45,000 (ITT, Nov. 21). The landlords war chest came from landlord groups across the nation and was used to finance a slick media campaign co-ordinated by Solem & Associates, a firm that has helped defeat rent control in other cities. "They totally out-campaigned us," Hartman said.

Silver linings.

Hartman's tale of woe was offset by a number of recent success stories by local tenant groups.

The same day that the San Francisco referendum went down to defeat, voters in Baltimore approved a strict rent control ordinance by a 52-48 percent margin, despite being outspent at least \$400,000 to \$10,000 by landlords and despite the fact that Solem & Associates also orchestrated the Baltimore campaign. In fact, no representative from the Baltimore tenant group came to the conference because, according to a conference organizer, "they expected to lose." As a result, the conference participants could not learn from Baltimore's upset victory. (The ordinance was declared void by a Baltimore court. See page four.)

Park Skelton from Santa Monica, where the tenants movement scored a major rent control victory last April, warned against tenant activists becoming gun-shy as a result of large landlord bankrolls.

"We don't have to match them" on campaign finances, he said, but "we have to have enough money and enough of a campaign to reach voters." The Santa Monica group raised \$45,000 (to the landlords' \$250,000) through door-to-door canvassing, bake sales, and other grass-roots fundraising efforts. They also registered tenant voters, won a strict rent control ordinance, and elected a pro-tenant rent control board.

Skelton reminded his audience that in Santa Monica, as in most large and medium-sized cities, tenants comprise a majority of the population.

"It's encouraging to hear how people have been winning," said Joan Dworkin of the Tenants Organization of Evanston, Ill., a group now fighting for rent and eviction controls in that north Chicago suburb. "It makes a big difference to be able to say that people are doing the same thing all over the country."

Inspired by New Jersey.

Phil Starr of the Cleveland Tenants Organization found the example of the New Jersey Tenants Organization particularly inspiring.

"We're way behind in Ohio. New Jersey sets a national example. It shows you can get the legislature to be responsive to tenants if they're well-organized."

Thanks to the NJTO, more than 110 New Jersey municipalities have rent control and the state legislature has passed the toughest landlord-tenant laws in the nation.

Tenant activists from New Jersey and California, where statewide tenant organizing has been most successful, felt the greatest need for some national group to make new advances.

"Tenant organizations in New Jersey are constrained by federal laws," explained Phyllis Salowe-Kaye, NJTO's president. She cited a Department of Housing and Urban Development regulation that exempts HUD-subsidized rental housing from local rent control ordinances.

"This excludes a large group of tenants from having a direct stake in our rent control activities," she said, calling for repeal of the HUD regulation.

Other federal legislation that could help local tenant groups would include restrictions on condominium conversions, federal income tax deductions for tenants for their share of property tax

and mortgage interest payments, and the channeling of federal housing subsidies through tenant and community organizations.

Mark Goldowitz, a lawyer and administrator of Santa Monica's rent control board, called for strict rent and eviction controls as part of any federal wage and price controls. He warned that the tenants movement "has to be ready to move quickly" if wage and price controls are enacted, "or else we'll be caught off-guard as we were during Nixon's wage and price controls."

Cary Lowe, whose statewide California Housing and Information Network (CHAIN) has won the support of Gov. Jerry Brown for pro-tenant legislation, called for raising tenant issues in the 1980 presidential election. He advocated targeting the presidential primaries in Massachusetts, New Jersey, Maryland and California, where tenant groups are strong.

Localism rears its head.

But most of those present felt they lacked the resources to affect local primaries. Although several tenant groups have strong ties to local Democratic Party elected officials, the general feeling was that tenants are not well enough organized to effect the primaries or the national Democratic convention next year. Representatives from several groups believed that involvement in national electoral work would divert them from local organizing efforts.

"I don't think we can afford to focus on Washington right now," said Dan Hodges of the Cambridge, Mass., Tenants Organization. "We have to continue working at the grass-roots."

Hodges' dissent turned out to be the only major disagreement during the conference weekend. Attempts to develop a tenants network bogged down in debate over how much attention should be given to building a national organization with an electoral or lobbying focus. Eva Gladston from Philadelphia pointed out that such a group, the National Tenants Organization (NTO), already exists.

But NTO, which represents public housing tenants and which emerged out of the poor people's movement of the 1960s, was poorly represented at the conference. In fact, the conference was heavily weighted toward middle income groups. Participants acknowledged the importance of NTO, as well as of the National Low Income Housing Coalition, a Washington-based lobby, but argued that something was needed to link the growing number of local activities.

The debate was resolved with the establishment of a "continuations committee" to set up another conference for next June (to focus on the training of tenant organizers), to set up a group to formulate a national housing policy agenda and to explore links with labor, consumer, and senior citizen organizations already involved in federal housing policies, such as Consumers Opposed to Inflation in the Necessities (COIN), the Citizens Labor Energy Coalition, and the Democratic Agenda. Finally, plans were made to exchange information and resources among local tenant groups parallel to the landlords' National Rental Housing Council.

Until the committee finds funds to hire a full-time coordinator, Woody Widrow of *Shelterforce* (380 E. Main St., East Orange, N.J. 07018) will serve as liaison.

Most of the conference participants, veterans of the 1960s movements as well as younger recruits and recently-activated tenants, believed themselves to be in on the dawning of a new political development. But Jane Benedict, a founding member of the 21-year old Metropolitan Housing Council of New York and a tenant activist for 25 years, best expressed the common sentiment.

"Real estate and banking are the same all over. They see housing as a way to make profits. We see it as a place to live. Until the profit incentive is taken out of housing, tenants will have to keep on organizing," she said.

Peter Dreier teaches sociology at Tufts University and is active with Massachusetts Fair Share and Boston-area tenants groups.

FIAT

Continued from page 11.

Amendola said the Factory Councils weren't working and that forms of direct democracy developed since 1969 had failed to ensure participation and representation of the entire mass of workers, technicians and white collar workers. He proposed returning to factory-wide lists of candidates.

Amendola remarked that everyone was pretending not to notice the growing number of foreign immigrant workers in Italy, mostly from North Africa. The unique combativity of Italian industrial workers in the past two decades has surely owed much to the fact that they were in their own country and couldn't be thrown out if they made trouble, like Arabs in France or Turks in Germany. FIAT spokespeople point out that they have had to develop technology that improves working conditions (and incidentally makes robots) because "our own people" work here, making demands, whereas FIAT's German and French competitors have a freer hand with foreign labor.

Today, the Italian bourgeoisie is getting its domestic servants from Tunisia, and Italian employers claim that no Italian will take a really tough or dirty job. Immigrant workers from Africa can get into the country legally and find jobs, but not in factories obliged to go through a union-controlled Employment Office.

Amendola's scolding of the unions

provoked the most forthright high-level policy debate in PCI history. Secretary General Enrico Berlinguer said Amendola had been unfair to the labor movement, which was less to blame than its enemies for all that was going wrong. And what did Amendola propose to offer to the workers in return for their sacrifices?

Frail and passionate, Amendola retorted that what the workers would get was to "save Italy from collapse, from economic failure," and "from an authoritarian solution, if not fascism." Amendola's stature as a veteran anti-Fascist, his frankness, his drastically failing health and freedom from any personal ambition, as well as the alarming world scene, all enhanced his apocalyptic tones. "We have only a very little time left, and we must make the most of that short time to act successfully to save Italy, and with it peace in Europe and the world, before it is too late."

But how? Enrico Berlinguer replied at the central committee meeting that if the PCI told the workers to hold down wages, to give up the sliding scale and to keep their hand out of the organization of work, "within a few days we'd have crowds out against us filling the piazzas, worker assemblies, demonstrations."

"And then what use would we be? And what contribution to the renovation and very salvation of the country could be made by a Communist Party whose links to the working population were so profoundly worn away? We would be like those who propose unilateral disarmament," the party leader said.

ART & ENTERTAINMENT

FILM

By Louis Torres

The heavily armed, helmeted police officers advance phalanx-style toward the large crowd of Chicanos and Mexicans assembled at the neighborhood park. The scores of riot gear-equipped police create an ominous, menacing presence. A silent split-second of fear and apprehension consumes the huge crowd of children, men, women, and *abuelitos*. Suddenly, a deafeningly loud shotgun blast unleashes frustration and anger in the crowd. The police move in, clubs swinging.

An eyewitness account of the August 29, 1970, East Los Angeles Chicano riot? No.

It is a scene shot on location for a new feature film currently in release in the United States after being exhibited in Mexico—*Raices de Sangre* (Roots of Blood) written and directed by Chicano filmmaker Jesus Salvador Trevino. Trevino recalls that the filming of the violent clash between the police and the Chicano throng was one of the most arduous tasks to be completed during the eight-week-long location shooting, which took place in the border town of Mexicali. The film marks Trevino's directorial debut.

The film was financed and produced by the *Banco Nacional Cinematografico* and *Conacine* of the nationalized Mexican film industry during the last days of the Echeverria regime. The film became a reality, in part, because of former president Luis Echeverria's interest in the "Chicano question" and how that had an impact on the citizens of Mexico. Although begun during that administration, the film was completed much later, during the administration of Lopez-Portillo.

The film deals with the efforts of Chicanos from the U.S. and Mexicans from the other side of the border to form an international labor union. (The story is set in the mythical border town of Socorro, Texas.) The storyline, constructed by Trevino, highlights the grossly exploitative system of *maquiladoras*.

Maquiladoras are the factories located all along the U.S.-Mexico border, notorious for doling out meager wages for difficult, monotonous and often dangerous work, usually in electric components assembly plants



Raices depicts working conditions better than it develops character.

Chicano-made feature shows union struggle

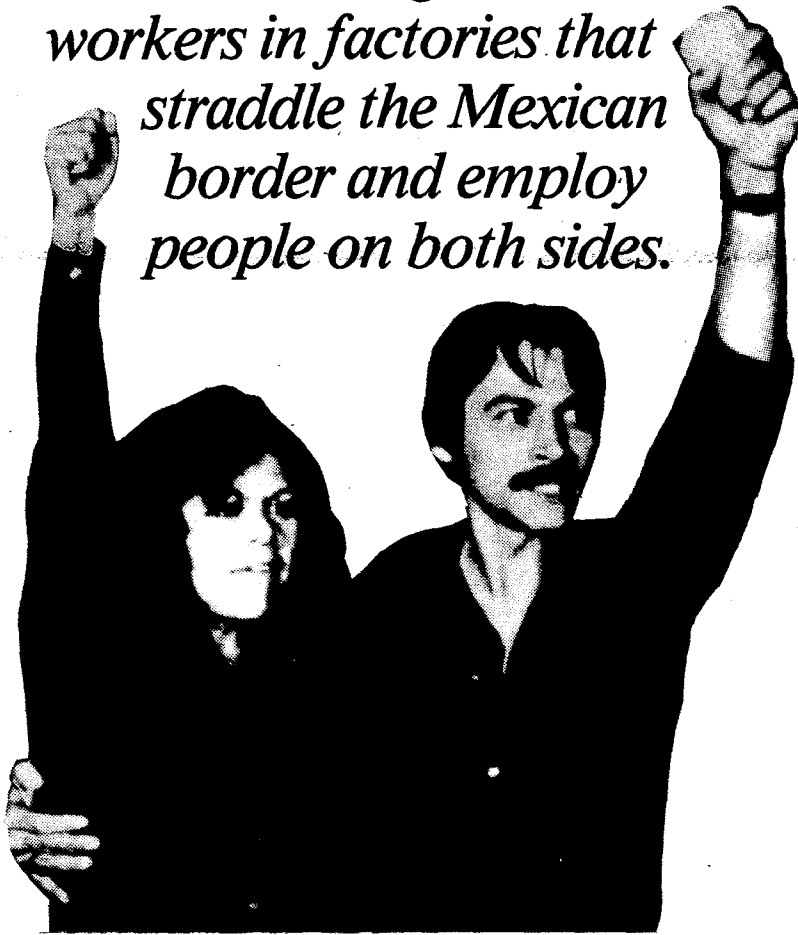
or garment manufacturing sweatshops. The companies work with tandem sites on either side of the border. The tasks that require more workers are done on the Mexican side where workers receive as little as a third of what those on the other side earn.

The target of the action in the film is the mythical Morris Shirt Company, intricately linked with local *politicos* and the police. The 'riot' scene occurs during a rally to garner support for Chicano/Mexican solidarity.

Raices has drawn mixed responses from critics and audiences from the Chicano and Mexican community in Los Angeles. People from the community—from factory workers to professionals involved in cinema or the arts—applauded the intent and theme of the film. There were, however, differences of opinion with respect to whether the film realized its potential.

Critics from the *Los Angeles Times* and *Variety* were complementary—if not overwhelmingly enthusiastic—about the film. *Variety* described *Raices* as a "solidly made call to political involvement and activism, which effectively points up the problems of Mexicans on the

Raices de Sangre looks at workers in factories that straddle the Mexican border and employ people on both sides.



Bonilla Giannini and Yniquez in a moment of victory.

border in very human terms." The *Times*' Charles Champlin, reigning L.A. film critic, wrote that the film "gains power from its passion and earnestness." Trevino says, "I tried to write and direct a script that encompassed both a political and a human story."

A Chicano artist whose work and perspective are well-respected in the Chicano community said that the women in the film were portrayed too much as extensions of the men they were associated with. Another Chicana observer said, "That love scene—that was not only unnecessary, it was ridiculous."

The love scene in question involves the leads—Richard Yniquez and Roxanna Bonilla-Giannini—who walk hand in hand on a hilltop overlooking the small city where the action takes place below. Standing silhouetted against the night sky the two begin to undress each other; as they begin to gently lie down they move out of the frame. It has been criticized by several people as a gratuitous bit of peek-a-boo sex that detracts from the film.

A more memorable scene from *Raices*—and one more representative of the overall tone—involves a line of women workers at their sewing machines in the garment factory sweatshop. The women have been threateningly warned that those who do not make their quota of completed shirts will be discharged. One worker who recently injured her hand is forced to work very slowly. It doesn't appear that her bin will be filled with the requisite number of shirts. Several women contribute shirts from their bins to the bin of the injured woman.

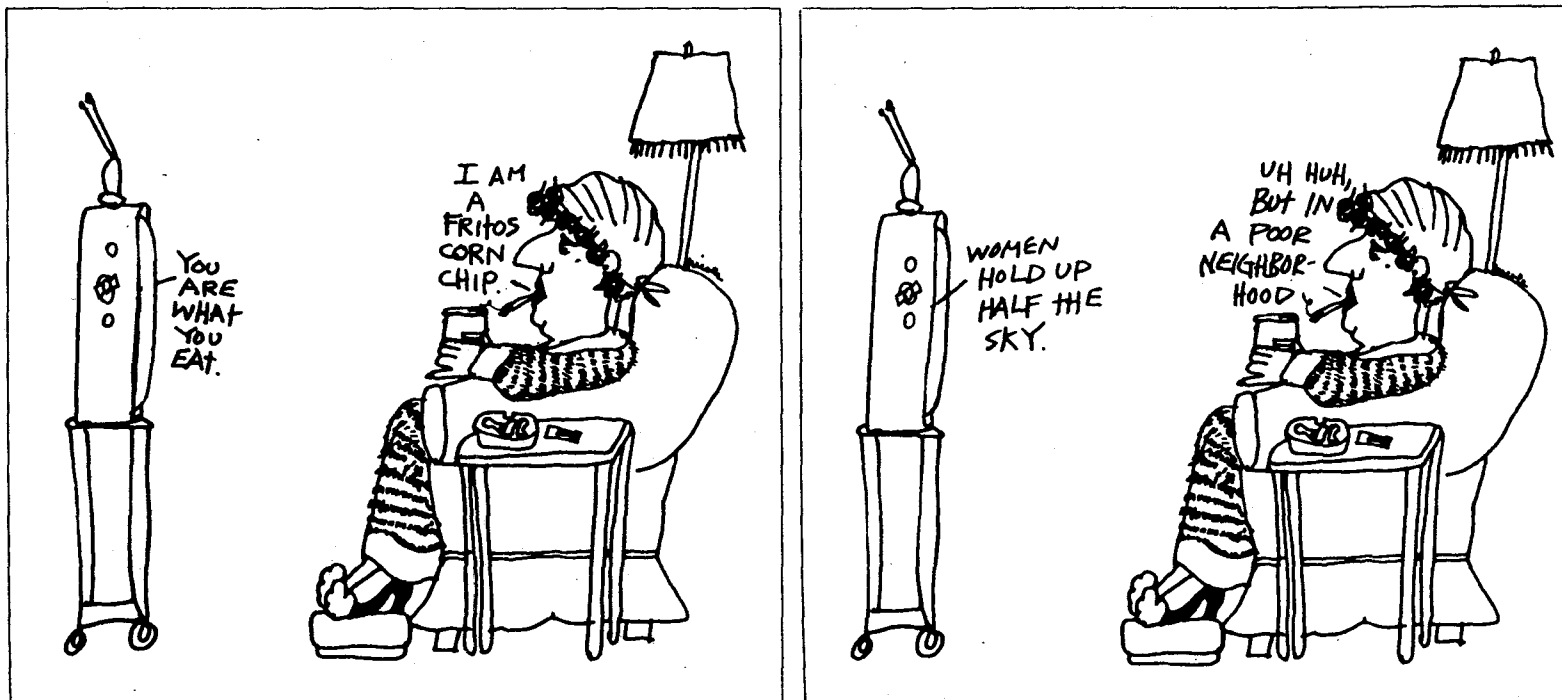
Although impressed by its positive depiction of Latinos as men and women who attempt to determine their own fate, some have felt that the film's political messages are naive, or at least outdated. "I thought I was watching a film about the '60s instead of one about the situation we face today," remarked Roberto Gil de Montes, a graduate student in Latin American studies in Los Angeles.

Responds Trevino, "you have to remember that it was intended for a mass audience in Mexico, an audience that isn't necessarily intimately aware of the different political phases the Chicano movement has gone through. I tried to synthesize a lot of things. And, I think it is a reflection of real life in Texas, for example, where people are actively involved in trying to organize unions."

Despite its shortcomings, *Raices* is a noteworthy achievement. Unlike recent Hollywood-produced features about Chicanos, including *Boulevard Nights* and *Walk Proud*, which focused on stereotyped images of youth gang violence and which were inaccurate, *Raices* has a texture of authenticity. Although the characters in the film could be more fully developed, they are not cardboard cut-outs. The plot, about Latinos taking concrete steps to control their own destiny, unfolds logically. The film is, overall, a well-wrought balance of socio-political advocacy and dramatic entertainment.

Louis R. Torres is a Los Angeles writer. *Raices de Sangre* is available from Azteca, 555 N. La Brea, Los Angeles, Calif.

NICOLE HOLLANDER



This cartoon appears in *I'm in Training to be Tall and Blonde* (\$3.95, paper) by Nicole Hollander, and is reprinted through special arrangement with St. Martin's Press, 175 Fifth Ave., NYC 10010.

AMERICAN PAINTING

Union show chronicles workers

Above: Winslow Homer's *Shipbuilding at Gloucester*. Below: Phillip Evergood's *Through the Mill*.

By David Vigoda

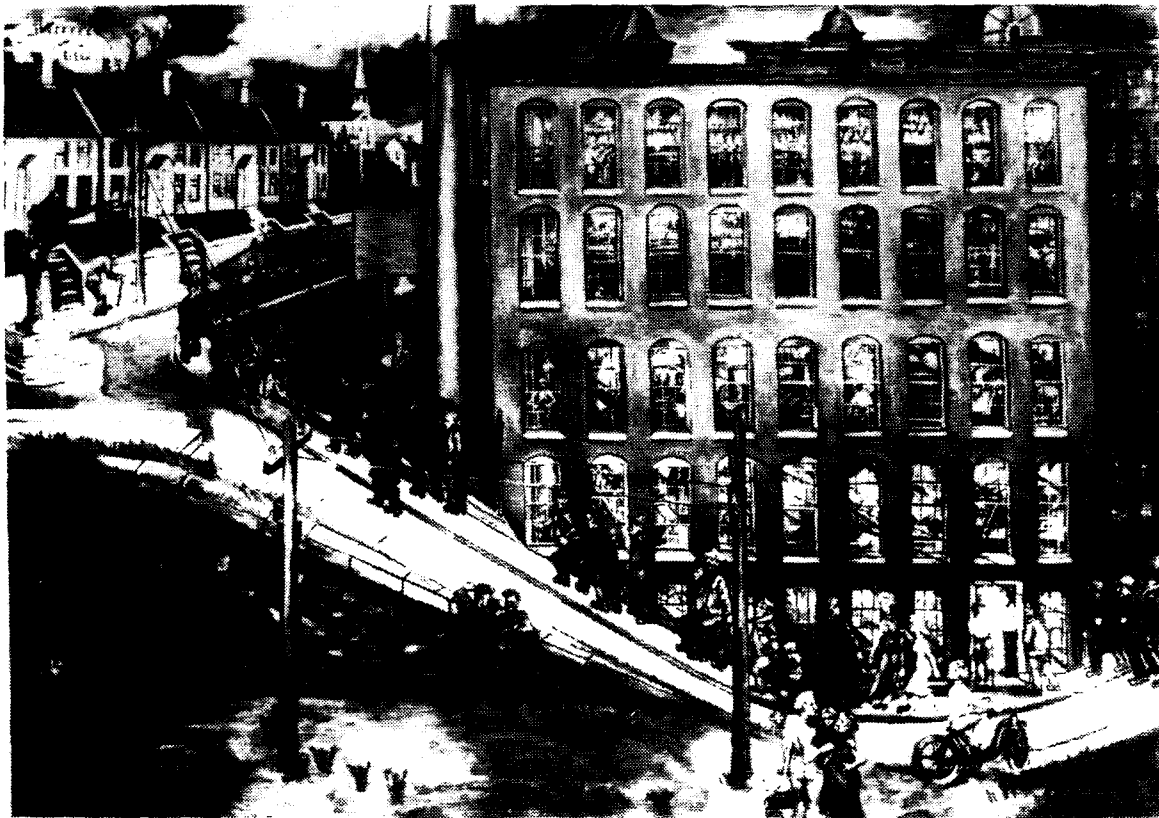
"The Working American" is an exhibition of American paintings depicting labor, sponsored by District 1199, National Union of Hospital and Health Care Employees. It is, in the words of Moe Foner, executive secretary of the union and project director of Bread and Roses, the cultural wing of the union, "the first major art exhibition organized by a labor union in this country."

This exhibition, like the whole Bread and Roses program, is a breakthrough in union thinking about the purposes of a union. No longer is so-called high culture or fine art to be the exclusive property of the better paid and better-educated.

The selection for "The Working American" was made to show the transition over time from predominantly agricultural to predominantly industrial labor; to show regional labor (eastern shipbuilding, western ranching); and to show women and children and non-whites as well as white men as laborers. There could not be a single artistic style, and in fact there are many different approaches to the subject of labor.

"A Breezy Day" (1887) by Curran depicts two women spreading linens in the grass to dry. Reflecting the trend towards romanticizing rural life as industrial urban life encroached upon it, Curran had no concern for truth. The maid in the foreground is the best looking you ever saw, and the artist took great pains with the flesh on her face and bare forearms. Despite its limitations, there is a marvelous glow to the painting, especially to the sheets billowing in the breeze.

In Evergood's "Through the Mill" (1940), dominating the canvas is a factory, so large and close it blocks out most of the sky. In front of it, workers trudge uphill to work—mostly in single file. Near the factory entrance stands a statue of a WWI infantryman, lunging with a bayonet towards the factory entrance. Behind him a retired worker walks away down the street—dribbling with a cane. Behind him are the row houses of the workers—identical, attached. Past them down the street is the church. An electric pole in front of it looks like a cross; the



electric lines come up the street and down in front of the factory—surrounding all the workers. Finally, sitting at the top of the hill, a mansion—guess who's.

Winslow Homer's "Shipbuilding at Gloucester" (1871) is dominated by a ship under construction and the piles of lumber from which it is made. The workers are dwarfed by their project, appearing quite small in the painting. Further, because of the artist's deliberately sketchy treatment, the workers almost blend into their surroundings. The intent, however, is not to minimize the workers' undertaking, but to dramatize it.

"The Strike" (1886) by Robert Koehler is a large canvas (six feet tall by nine feet wide) with the factory at the right rear and the owner's mansion at the left foreground and the workers in between, facing the boss. It is a narrative painting—that is, it tells a story—with clear roots in the European traditions of painting historical events. Some of the workers confront the boss, some are undecided, some are arguing or questioning among themselves.

Honore Sharrer refers to her five-piece work "Tribute to the American Working People" (1951) with the phrase "vernacular monumentality." By "catching" people in the midst of a commonplace act, when they are off-guard and unrehearsed,

the artist seeks to get close to realism. There is a conscious effort to avoid allegory (symbolism) and idealization (sentimentality).

First steps.

The exhibition fulfills its modest goal of showing something of range over time, place and treatment of labor in American painting. Perhaps what is most significant about the exhibition is that it happened at all.

According to Mordecai Bauman, Bread and Roses program administrator, the union alone could not have picked up the whole tab. "The Working American" is also sponsored by the Smithsonian Institution Traveling Exhibition Service, and funding comes in part from the National Endowment for the Humanities, the New York State Council on the Arts, and the New York Council for the Humanities. Without such supportive funding, says Bauman, Bread and Roses would be unable to continue.

Not all members of 1199 support the Bread and Roses program, says Bauman; some argue that it is too luxurious at this time. Media coverage of the opening was sparse, too. Perhaps more union representatives ought to have been on hand—and not just from 1199.

Bauman and Bob Stahl, in charge of public relations for

This is the first time a labor union has organized a major art exhibit in the U.S., and some objected that it was a luxury.

Bread and Roses, said they hoped some of the many union members who pass through the union hall will take out a few minutes to see the show. They hope some of these, seeing labor depicted in fine art, will become interested in art.

But hoping is not enough. If you have no idea why 22 guys are jumping all over each other, it's hard to get excited about football. If you can't read, you can't enjoy a novel. Art is a language and you can't expect people to understand it if they don't know the language.

Having "relevant" paintings on the wall is not yet education. There could be talks on the exhibition—Abigail Booth Gerds, who curated the show, has much to say on the subject of labor in American painting. Articles could be solicited from visitors to the show describing what they got out of it.

Perhaps future shows will also include art not limited to images of work. If workers can appreciate painting that shows them working, they can appreciate ones that show them resting, playing, celebrating or ones that show what their labor has created. I was told landscapes are not relevant to working people. Why not—they don't like trees?

Future shows might also display more current work. The most recent work in "The Working American" is almost 30 years old, which is consistent with its aim of historical perspective. But there is an equal need for contemporary views of American labor. There is also a need to support living artists, because without contemporary art you don't get historical art.

David Vigoda is a living artist. The New York exhibition ended on Nov. 24. The exhibit will now go to the Detroit Historical Museum, the Memorial Art Gallery of the University of Rochester, the Chicago Historical Society, the Birmingham (Alabama) Museum of Art, the (Trenton) New Jersey State Museum, and the Museum of Our National Heritage in Lexington, Mass.

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FEMINIST BOOKS AND MAGAZINES

Passionate perils of publishing

By Karen Rosenberg

A lot of what women write is not getting read. That's the sad story of the feminist magazine in America and its companion, the feminist book publisher.

This can't be explained away with the dismissal "there's nothing worth reading." Adrienne Rich, Marge Piercy, Robin Morgan, Olga Broumas, and Susan Griffin appear in the pages of *Chrysalis*, for instance, but it has only 13,000 subscribers (including libraries) and sells about 2,500 copies in retail outlets. *Calyx*, *Heresies*, *Moving Out*, *Country Women* and *Conditions* feature interesting new and established writers but reach a limited audience. Some say the little magazine is read mostly by its contributors. Hyperbole, but with some truth in it.

Lack of exposure, rather than poor quality, may be the main barrier to a larger readership. It isn't easy to compete with the conglomerates, with their much larger powers of advertising and distribution. Warner Brothers owns *Ms. Magazine* along with Independent News Company (a distributor) and Warner Books (for mass paperbacks). *Women's Day* is a subsidiary of CBS, which also has Praeger, Holt, Reinhart & Winston and Popular Library. Three hundred companies have either merged or been swallowed up in the last 20 years, according to *The Passionate Perils of Publishing* by Celeste West and Valerie Wheat.

But the feminist publishers go on. The early stage of mimeographed position papers and

Feminist presses are rolling but they lack the visibility of Ms. (owned by Warner Bros.) or Women's Day (CBS)

newsletters is almost history. Cheap offset technology revolutionized the business. June Arnold noted in *Quest* in the summer of '76 that over 150 presses and journals exist in the feminist community.

Why all this publishing activity? Largely because of dissatisfaction with traditional commercial houses. The 1977 report published by the Women in Publishing group at the organization "9 to 5" demonstrated that women are still often paid less than their male colleagues of comparable age and experience. There may be problems in the small presses owned and operated by women, but at least not the same old problems.

Small presses take many books that trade publishers reject or wouldn't consider. But some authors come to the feminist press with manuscripts they could publish elsewhere. They may come out of ideological solidarity, and they may be looking for a different kind of treatment. A large press generally prints 2,500 copies of a first novel. If the book doesn't make it big very quickly, the bookstores return it and it gets remaindered or even shredded. A hardback generally sits no more than six months on the retail

shelf, a mass paperback, twelve days. The women's presses, on the other hand, tend to keep works in print until they attract readers.

If a book put out by a small press does very well, it may be reissued by a larger house. So one of the functions which the independents play is testing out the market. Famous examples include the *Whole Earth Catalog* and the *Foxfire* series, which were taken over by major publishers after they had proven popular. Others who made it into the big time are the Boston women's Health Collective, Paula Morgan, Rod McKuen and Anais Nin. Like other small publishers, the feminist presses conduct this market research for their larger competitors for free.

Not surprisingly, many feminist enterprises are displeased with their position vis-a-vis the large commercial houses. Some have suffered severely from it. Diana Press, when it suspended publication this year after seven years in operation, explained that it couldn't compete with big New York publishers who are able to offer better advances, distribution and promotion than a small operation. Women

in Distribution, which also announced its folding in 1979, observed that many bookstores, even those owned by feminists, turn to trade publishers for their stock. That leaves less shelf space for small press books.

With the arrival of "women's sections" in many bookstores, the feminist shops face financial problems. When the commercial publishers and the average bookstore feel that the "women's lib fad" has died down, they can easily reduce, or even suspend, the sale of feminist works. At a meeting at Radcliffe last spring, an editor of an academic press and another from a major trade house agreed that the women's studies boom is over. One woman from the audience pointed out that some of the first dissertations in women's studies are only now being finished. Will they appear in print?

Of course, small feminist presses, which have been damaged by the present competition with large publishers, might revive if the big fish leave the field. But, before that could happen, valuable experience and capital may be lost.

Some relief might come from funds that could bolster up and stimulate the independents. But such money isn't easy to come by. *Media Report to Women* of May 1, 1978 commented that the Small Business Administration will not give financial assistance to enterprises involved in the "dissemination" or "propagation" of "ideas and values." This means that the feminist presses are virtually excluded from the Women-in-Business Ownership campaign of the

Small Business Administration. Grants from the nonprofit Coordinating Council of Literary Magazines, the National Endowment for the Humanities and the National Endowment for the Arts have been received by various feminist journals. University facilities offset costs for some. But the small presses and journals have been hard hit by the spiralling price of paper in the last few years. Many of the magazines in the women's movement run on volunteer labor. Some have no centralized distribution system, so that individual orders are filled by hand, at considerable cost.

Feminist presses and journals may be helped by the appearance of some guides for the uninitiated. *Motherroot* is a new periodical that reviews small press feminist publications. *Chrysalis* sometimes includes a Feminist Publishing Catalog in its issues. *Guide to Women's Publishing*, by Polly Joan and Andrea Chesman is mostly for the producer (the writer and the artist who seek outlets), as is Lynne D. Shapiro's *Write On, Woman! The 1979 Index/Directory of Women's Media* put out by the Women's Institute for Freedom of the Press is a handy reference tool. Perhaps the most readable all-around guide to the state of business is *The Passionate Perils of Publishing* by Celeste West and Valerie Wheat.

Karen Rosenberg is a Junior Fellow in the Society of Fellows at Harvard University. *A Guide to Women's Publishing is available from Dustbooks in Paradise, CA for \$4.95 (paper). Write On, Woman! is available from 345 W. 87th St., NYC for \$4.50. The Passionate Perils of Publishing is published by Booklegger Press in San Francisco for \$5 and the 1979 Index/Directory of Women's Media is available at Women's Institute for Freedom of the Press, Washington D.C.*

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By Kate Ellis

The 1970s feminist movement has been strongly literary, taking into being numerous small presses, women's journals, reprints of "lost" writings by women and an unprecedented interest in women's biographies and autobiographies (see facing page).

Also, many of its most active leaders identify themselves as creative writers.

Susan Griffin, Audre Lorde, Kate Millet, Tillie Olsen and Adrienne Rich have taken an active role in defining what the movement stands for.

If we assume that a woman's place is on the best seller list, we have Toni Morrison (*The Bluest Eye*, 1970), Alix Kates Schulman (*Memoirs of an Ex-Prom Queen*, 1972), and Erica Jong (*Fear of Flying*, 1973), Marge Piercy (*Small Changes*, 1973) and Rita Mae Brown (*Rubyfruit Jungle*, 1973) to thank for this state of affairs. Before that Sue Kaufman (*Diary of a Mad Housewife*, 1967) had given us intimations that all was not well with the middle class housewife. But in the early '70s a recognizable genre developed, one whose heroine moves toward a new sense of self informed by the insights of consciousness raising.

It has become a commonplace among feminists that there is such a thing as a woman's point of view, and that this point of view has been given scant space in our male-dominated culture. We need women writers, therefore, to tell us now it has been, and how it is for us. Publishers caught on to the market possibilities of a readership eager for heroines grappling with a world touched (and sometimes shaken) by feminism. What could be easier, one might think, than to be open about who one was and what one thought, on paper?

And yet there are obstacles to this endeavour that apply particularly to women. One is what Virginia Woolf in 1929 called "the shoddy old fetters of class." The other is a tendency that Simone De Beauvoir described in 1949: "Most women fail to realize the problems posed by their desire for communication... In order to seduce, they know only the method of showing themselves; then their charm either works or it does not work."

The women De Beauvoir is speaking of are those with leisure to write but little sense of their own boundaries and limitations. The consciousness raising groups of the early '70s often compounded this problem: "I can't do anything" was displaced not by "I can do this or that" but rather by "who knows what I could do if it weren't for sexism." The novelists of the early '70s (with the exception of Toni Morrison) came out of this consciousness raising experience supported in the notion that showing themselves was a valid political act. It took courage to do this in a group. To do so in print was an extension of that bravery.

Yet the effect of this impulse on Schulman, Jong, Piercy and Brown is that their heroines lack the mixture of weakness and strengths that allows the characters of great writers to speak to our full humanity. Drowning in a sea of ordinariness, Schulman's Sasha, Jong's Isadora, Piercy's Miriam and Brown's Molly are exceptionally smart in a world that validates this quality in men only. This realization sets in motion the first stirrings of feminism in these heroines. The pain of being exceptional is blunted, though, partly because

STATE *of the* ART

FEMINIST LITERATURE



Clockwise from upper left: Marge Piercy, Alix Kates Schulman, Kate Millet, Adrienne Rich.

Women writers are discovering the richly imperfect heroine

being smart is an advantage over being stupid, even for women, and partly because these women have the magic combination of qualities that elicits that all-important validating experience, sexual love.

"They say it is worse to be ugly," Sasha muses. "I think it must only be different. If you're pretty you are subject to one set of abuses; if you're plain you are subject to another." At the end of the novel she gets her hair cut to look like her graduation photo but realizes she can't recover her faith in the magical power of beauty to save her. The thought that the physical appearance that victimizes her (and it does) might be far more cruelly damaging to other women never enters Sasha's mind.

Such a revelation might be worthy of a heroine of Jane Austen or George Eliot—women who wrote about heroines who were flawed and who struggled with the inevitable consequences of their flaws. Sasha and her cohorts cannot move much beyond the affirmation of their own egos because their creators have not imposed limitations on those egos. They are right, others are wrong. Parents, lovers, and husbands are dull, rigid or domineering. Pitting themselves against all this, the heroines discover who they uniquely are.

Piercy's Miriam, loved until

almost the end of the novel by two men (not always the same two), is an example of a heroine without boundaries. The endless elaboration of her brilliant mind and fantastic cooking never rises above banality. But near the end of this very long novel both Miriam and Beth, the other heroine of the book, bump up against reality and come alive. Beth's lover goes to jail for refusing to testify in a political grand jury and Miriam's husband stops being Prince Charming.

Piercy is the most prolific of this group of feminist writers. She also exemplifies most prominently the tendency to didacticism that is perhaps inevitable in writers who have experienced feminism as a vision. A sex scene in a Piercy novel illustrates either how sex should be or how sex should not be. Her characters are too often flattened to make a point: they become paradigms; and so become as incapable of change as the boundless egotists of Jong, Schulman, and Brown.

Perhaps Brown felt a special compulsion not to give faults to her lesbian heroine because she wanted to emphasize the strengths of the lesbian experience. Yet the heroine of *Rubyfruit Jungle* is an extraordinarily woman-hating person. Molly Bolt puts dog shit in the desk of a receptionist where she works,

walks away from the first object of her love (now a harried housewife and mother) with the words, "She could have dropped dead on the spot for all I knew," and generally relates to women as instruments for her own purposes.

In the later '70s this brash self-assurance becomes increasingly tempered with a realization that oppression can inflict permanent damage on those it touches, that one cannot always have it all. The heroine of Alice Walker's *Meridian* (1976) learns that romantic love and political activism conflict, and chooses activism. The heroine of Piercy's best book, *Woman on the Edge of Time* (1976) hallucinates a utopian world but is crushed by this one. The novel that goes farthest in portraying a world not centered on the heroine's ego is Judith Rossner's *Looking for Mr. Goodbar* (1975).

Teresa Dunn has a terminal case of self-hatred, a feminist version of the sickness unto death that is metaphoric for most of us, literal in Teresa's case. Along with this goes a double standard (the "good" man for marriage, "bad" men for sex) that is an oppressed version of the oppressor's paradigm. Rossner gives us a heroine for whom pleasure must always be stolen since it is never deserved. The feminist case against this

book (in its film version particularly) is that it is telling women to stay off the streets. But surely feminist consciousness must dare to encompass the fullest range of possibilities, and for heterosexual relationships as they now stand one end of this spectrum is death for women. Good art tells you what you need to know but would rather not.

More recently, the permanent damage of male domination has been taken up in Marilyn French's *The Women's Room* (1977) and Mary Gordon's *Final Payments* (1978). Though stylistically very different (Gordon's is tightly controlled, French's is quite the opposite) the two books have in common a non-judgmental presentation of the lives of ordinary women doing conventional female things like caring for children and the sick. "The children were endlessly interesting to the women," French says of her working class New Jersey housewives, then goes on to say: "You might find such conversations boring: you might prefer to talk about cars, or football games. But I find them humane, and believe it or not, they were educational too, for we learned a lot about what to do for a child whose fever won't come down.... Earlier feminist heroines were too busy demonstrating specialness to identify with such 'mindless' activities."

The development of the popular feminist novel in the '70s has been away from a configuration that I would call distinctly bourgeois, one in which an exceptional heroine comes to terms with her own uniqueness. The notion of "getting her man" as the ultimate reward is also challenged in different ways: Schulman's Zane Indiana (*Burning Questions*, 1978) finds happiness in a feminist community, while French's narrator ends by saying

I have opened all the doors in my head.

I have opened all the pores in my body.

But only the tide rolls in.

Yet the idea of female virtue rewarded by marriage is still present, in modified form, with sexual pleasure the new sign of membership in the feminist elect. We see this attitude most blatantly in Erica Jong's *How To Save Your Own Life* (1977) but it also comes out by negation in Piercy's latest novel, *The High Cost of Living* (1978) where the minimal good sex that the protagonists enjoy is a sign of their rigidity, their non-election.

The "fettors of class" are thrown into relief when we place next to them a writer on whose pages the fetters simply do not appear—Toni Morrison, the most important American woman writing today. In the rich world of characters she has created (I find her comparable only to Dickens in this respect) magnificent, poetic sex is experienced by those who have in no way "gotten it together." They are multifaceted misfits—the lame Paulina Breedlove, for instance, and the husband who impregnates their daughter in *The Bluest Eye*; Corinthians in *Song of Solomon* (1977), living with her father at the age of 42 and afraid to acknowledge her boyfriend to him; the wild heroine of *Sula* (1973) who sleeps with her best friend's husband.

Morrison's work spans the decade and shows us possibilities that lie beyond the fetters of class that still bind so much of our movement. The initial plowing has been done, the soil is incredibly rich.

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Moving & Shaking

ERIC LEIF DAVIN

Jilana is exotic, sensual, alluring. Gold glitter sprinkles her body and glistens in the half light of night clubs. Men are excited and women suspicious as Jilana moves among them. She is concealed yet revealed by her veils.

Jilana is a belly dancer.

Ruth Kirsch is funky, downhome, ordinary. She is most comfortable in a torn Levi jacket and running shoes. She never wears make-up and is an outspoken feminist.

Ruth Kirsch is a socialist.

And both are the same woman.

"As a dancer, I'm supposed to be a mystery, a fantasy," says Ruth. "The exotic eye shadow, body glitter and costume are part of the fantasy. They help put me in a sensual frame of mind and that makes me a better dancer. A belly dance is supposed to be sensual and I simply wouldn't look—or perform—as well without them."

And as a leftist, Jilana has sometimes been a mystery to other leftists. Ruth is a member of the Pittsburgh chapter of the New American Movement, a feminist-socialist organization, and admits that her profession has confused her colleagues.

"Originally they thought I was nuts," says Ruth. "I'm still not sure they understand what's going on."

The problem is that for most people, leftists or not, belly dancing is merely a fancy form of stripping.

"But I don't do a sex show," says Ruth. "I do oriental dance, ethnic dance. The dance is sensual but not sexual. In fact, the dance is the first women's dance and was originally performed only before women. The part of the body we exercise, strengthen and move—such as the belly—are the parts of the body most intimately involved in the birthing process."

"It's similar to the moves a woman would learn in a La Maze natural childbirth class, except that this dance evolved naturally for the same purpose. The dance stretches and strains the body gradually and moves the body in a natural way. It's good exercise and any woman would benefit by it."

Men, however, tend to see belly dancing as created exclusively for their sexual excitement.

"Men get carried away," says Ruth. "Even if you don't do anything, even if you're covered from head to toe, even if you're totally unattractive and perform the most modest and benign show—still men attack you. I'd say that 50 to 60 percent of all shows involve hassles with men. They'll even follow you home. It doesn't matter how fancy or where the club is. It happens on the working-class South Side and it happens in wealthy Squirrel Hill."

For this reason, Ruth tries to teach dancing in a formal setting as much as possible, "so I can pick and choose my gigs." She teaches dancercise classes as well as jazz, disco, and belly dancing in the informal program of the Community College of Allegheny County. And the gigs she likes best are the ones involving women.

"Women's bridge clubs and elderly clubs are great," she explains.

Ruth likes to explain the history and

evolution of the dance before performing. "It's always uncomfortable to stand before men with legs, belly and breasts half exposed," she says. "But if I can talk about the purpose and function of the dance first, it helps. People talk to me and treat me differently."

Belly dancing was introduced into this country by Little Egypt, an Egyptian dancer at the Chicago World's Fair in 1893. At that time, a briefly exposed femal ankle was considered titillating and carnival hucksters promoted the dance with the sex show image it has retained ever since.

Its North African origins, however, were not in sex shows but in women's dance rituals, associated with childbirth and motherhood. Later, in early Arabic cultures, the women danced privately for each other while removing their veils, a practice the women viewed not as enticing but as liberating.

Today, says Ruth, there are belly dancers everywhere. But it's not an easy profession. "You have to exercise for long periods every day," says Ruth. "You have to continually take dance classes in order to keep in shape, to work on your weaknesses and in order to learn new routines. And you've got to keep up with the latest stylistic developments. If everyone else is dancing with swords, you better go out and buy a sword!"

The problems for the dancers also include complaints familiar to workers anywhere. Costumes, of which a dancer must have several, are expensive and the pay, Ruth says, is only "so-so." Depending upon how long the dancer performs and how many costume changes are involved, she might make from \$35 to \$150 for a performance.

However, there are no contracts signed and the payment is always in cash—when the dancer can get it. "I've gone back to some clubs," says Ruth, "to pick up my pay and the manager says he never heard of me."

"But I danced all evening for you," I say.

"You danced for me?" he says. "Well, I never saw you."

Besides low wages and non-payment, it is common to find bands unable to play appropriate music, small or dangerous stages, no dressing rooms, cold performing areas which cause muscle cramps, and little or no audience control by the management. In addition, the management itself can be

"I love the work," says this belly dancer. "But friends think I'm nuts."

threatening. "I think I danced once for the Mafia," says Ruth, "but I won't say where."

But although dancers share common complaints, changing the conditions seems unlikely. Besides the fact that dancers are free-lancers, most, says Ruth, are single women supporting kids and cannot afford to be blacklisted by the clubs or the agents for being troublemakers. "You have to make that buck," she says, "or you kids'll starve."

In addition, for many women belly dancing is a step upward in status. Most belly dancers are from working-class backgrounds, and are exposed to the dance as waitresses, go-go dancers or as strippers. For the ex-strippers, the money may be less, but it is easier to tell their kids how they make a living.

Still, despite her difficulties with most male audiences, the lack of understanding from friends, the low wages and barely tolerable working conditions, Ruth Kirsch continues to dance.

"I'm a dancer," she says. "I love it. There's nothing else I'd rather do."

Eric Davin is the editor of *District Five Reports* (United Mine Workers) and *Civil Liberties Record* (the ACLU newspaper in Pennsylvania), and is the best disco dancer in the Pittsburgh left.



Paul Gluck